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Under the Direction of
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXXIII.—JANUARY, 1908.—No. 129

A PLEA FOR THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN.

I. THE PROBLEM.

Why write *caelum*, say *saylum*, or (now that the Catholics at the universities are taking up the modern English pronunciation) *keelum*, or *seelum*, and sing *chayloom*?—*The (London) Month, September, 1907.*

—while the devout German at your right pronounces it *tsayloom*, and the 'varsity man at your left, *ky-loom*?—*Addendum.*

I should gladly see the day when, under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected . . . in our solitary and barbarous methods of pronouncing both the Greek and Latin languages.—*Gladstone.*

II. THE EXPERIMENT.

We think if this [the "original," or ancient "Roman"] system is fairly tried, it will meet with universal favor; and within another generation the *original* method may be used by all the Latinists of the world.—*The Methodist Quarterly Review, October, 1883.*

It is now something like twenty years since the so-called Roman or quantitative pronunciation of Latin was first generally introduced into the schools and colleges of this country . . . and here I wish at the outset to declare frankly my conviction that the introduction of the Roman pronunciation was a fundamental blunder, and that its retention is likewise a serious mistake.—*Professor C. E. Bennett (1906).*

III. THE SOLUTION.

Their [sc., the Latin pupils at Mr. Hartlib's school] speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible to the Italian, especially in the vowels.—*Milton.*

FRANKLY confessed in its very title, the purpose of this paper is to advocate the adoption of the Italian pronunciation of Latin in all our Catholic educational institutions, from the "high school grade" of certain parish schools up to and including our colleges and universities.¹

¹ If such a plea may properly be urged, the present seems an appropriate time for doing so, in view of the questionnaire sent recently (27 November, 1907) to the instructors in Latin in our colleges and seminaries by the

Such advocacy can scarcely be regarded by our non-Catholic friends in any other light than that of a manifest pedagogical heresy. For the highest educational authorities have given an almost unanimous suffrage to the so-called "Roman" or "Augustan" or "Restored" pronunciation of Latin. While "both the English and continental pronunciations still survive in this country," writes Professor Bennett in his "The Teaching of Latin in the Secondary School" (New York, 1906), ". . . probably the two together are not represented by five per cent. of the Latin pupils of the secondary schools; in the colleges the percentage must be lower still."

The demand for this pronunciation of Latin according to the ancient Roman style has been made successfully by the higher philological scholarship of Germany, America and England. To profit by the vogue thus created, and to minister to its needs, publishers in America have been indefatigable in the production of Latin "First Year Books," grammars, school editions of the classical texts, which indicate formally and with great minuteness the long quantities of certain vowels and the scheme of pronunciation in which these long quantities play such an important part. So exclusive has the cult become that in these volumes there is hardly a hint given anywhere of the existence of other schemes or usages of schools or of nationalities in this matter of the pronunciation of Latin, save that in some of the elementary manuals a short paragraph may give a hasty reference to the "English" method.

College Department of the Catholic Educational Association. The subject of Latin teaching had already received some attention in the two previous meetings of the association. At the meeting held in Milwaukee, in July, 1907, papers were read on "The Cultivation of Classical Latin in Our Seminaries" (by the Rev. Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University), on "Practical Elements in the Problem of Latin in the Seminaries" (by the Rev. Dr. Dyer, S. S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), and on "The Colleges and the Study of Latin" (by the Rev. Father Conway, S. J., of Georgetown University). The discussion raised by the papers was very frank and outspoken, but not very reassuring. The subject of Latin pronunciation was not referred to, but the present writer is of opinion that the poor results of our teaching of Latin may be due, at least in some measure, to the forbidding character of the text-books used in perhaps many of our colleges to-day—text-books scored on every page with the macron indicating long vowel-quantities and inculcating in this way a pronunciation extremely difficult to acquire; and with the quaintly "correct" spellings of Latin words necessitated by that "higher philological criticism" which is answerable also for the introduction of the so-called "Roman" pronunciation of Latin. At the Milwaukee meeting of the association a committee was appointed "to take in hand the furthering of Latin study in the Catholic institutions of the United States." The questionnaire addressed to these institutions by the committee makes inquiry under seven headings, some of these comprising many sub-questions; in none of these is the subject of Latin pronunciation alluded to. It is nevertheless hoped that the present paper may serve to call attention to the desirability of united action in this matter.

The movement for reform in Latin pronunciation has not progressed without some friction, of which there has been apparently but little in America, but much in England. The resulting discussion has been confined almost exclusively to the respective merits of the ancient Roman and the modern English methods of pronunciation. While the philologists have been patiently demonstrating the "correctness" of the so-called Roman or Augustan method, their adversaries have not been able to withstand the temptation to resort to Philistine support, by their mimicry of the correctness. "Kikero!" they cry. "Who could recognize under that disguise our old friend Cicero? And under the ludicrous *way-nee, wee-dee, wee-kee*, who shall perceive the traditional *Veni, vidi, vici?*" Not just in these words, but in their spirit, has part of the protest been made. It was met, some quarter of a century ago, by William Cullen Bryant (in an editorial in the *New York Evening Post*); he defended the Roman method, declaring that "once generally adopted, its harshness—which, after all, is no greater than that of the Greek—will cease to be thought of. The absurdity of objection on this ground will appear to any one whose ear has ever caught the mellifluous flow of Homer's grand old Greek, or of Anacreon's lyrics, polished, perfect and musical." But the "English" assailants of the "reform" do themselves live in glass houses; and the retort courteous could be made to them, with their "Aunt Mary" for *ante mare*, etc.; and as for Kikero and Skipio and all such harshnesses, "'Tis better," said one ardent protagonist of reform, "to give Scipio and Cicero the names by which they were known in the flesh and which they have invested in immortal glory—far better all these changes—than to turn the Roman senate into a mass of hissing serpents."

Following the long debate with patient attention, one might be led to suppose that a choice of pronunciation lay between the two methods. Meanwhile, however, there was in existence the method used commonly in Catholic colleges in Great Britain and Ireland, which (with the exception of the long sound given to the vowel *u*) followed in the main the pronunciation of the vowels in the various continental ways of speaking Latin, while retaining for the consonants their ordinary English values.

In such circumstances as these, it were futile to plead for the adoption of the Italian pronunciation before non-Catholic educationists. Right at their doors there lies that existing traditional English method which one writer, thinking it might have been the pre-Reformation pronunciation of Latin amongst Englishmen, has styled the "Old English" method. Right at their doors it lies, and they completely ignore it. It has its own defects—manifest defects; but those who use it can understand one another's Latinity,

can also understand and be understood (although doubtless not without some initial difficulty) by the continental speakers of Latin; while those who have been trained in the English method of Latin pronunciation cannot understand or be understood by continental speakers, cannot understand or be understood by their Catholic fellow-Englishmen, and can scarcely understand or be understood by one another. We say "scarcely." Perhaps the word is too strong; but it suggests itself after one has read the declaration of a speaker at the October (1906) meeting of the English Classical Association: "There are no two schools in England, I believe, which pronounce Latin in the same way."

The need of reform of some kind is very evident, and one can only applaud the zeal of those who labor to effect the reform. But the zeal may nevertheless be without knowledge of certain practical difficulties standing in the way. The texts placed at the head of this paper do not state, but imply, the difficulties. The writer in the *Methodist Review* foresaw, a quarter of a century ago, the reform sweeping over the country. He was a prophet. But now that the quarter of a century has elapsed, we find Professor Bennett, of Cornell University, who had given fifteen years of zealous scholarship to the furtherance of that very reform in the pathway mapped out by the *Methodist Reviewer* (or rather by those pioneers whose work was so earnestly applauded by him), uttering a despairing note and declaring that the introduction of that Roman method was a "fundamental blunder," and that its retention is "likewise a serious mistake." "So long as we retain the Roman pronunciation, while nominally making that our standard, we shall in reality be far from exemplifying that method in our practice. We shall be guilty of pretending to do one thing, while we really are doing something else. I hesitate to believe that such disingenuousness can permanently commend itself to thoughtful teachers. I have above mentioned the fact that certain educators advocate the employment of the Roman pronunciation on moral grounds, urging that it is our bounden duty to apply what we know to be true. It is equally on moral grounds (among others) that I would urge the immediate abandonment of the Roman pronunciation. We are not just to ourselves, we are not just to our students, so long as we encourage the present hypocritical practice. The English pronunciation is at least honest. It confessedly violates vowel quantity, though I doubt whether it actually does so any more than the Roman method as actually employed."²

It is interesting to note that, in giving up the idea of reform by the Roman method, the writer contemplates but the alternative of

² Bennett, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

the English method. Continental scholars cannot understand that method; but they do understand the "traditional" English method used until recently in our Catholic educational institutions.

Until recently; for now much diversity exists therein. It comprises the diversities of all the tongues under heaven, with the addition (in the progressive colleges) of that "Roman" scheme which corresponds with no tongue under heaven; and we believe that, even in the preparatory and collegiate departments of some Catholic colleges, a professor in one class may be found using the "traditional English" method, while in the next room to his another instructor may be inculcating the "Roman" method, and perhaps in still another room the "Italian" or some other of the continental variants may obtain recognition.

For various reasons this diversity in the pronunciation of Latin ought to be deplored by those interested in classical education. First of all, there arises a pedagogical difficulty. For it is clear that, under the most favorable auspices, the teaching of Latin is not an easy task for the instructor, if he does even only half of his duty; and the universal lament of the colleges over the exceedingly poor results attained by the preparatory schools in equipping their graduates with vocabulary, with syntax, or, indeed, with the most elementary part of the Latin accidence, seems to demonstrate that the study of Latin is no easy task even for the earnest plodder. Simplified to the last degree, the language remains a difficult one to acquire; and any unnecessary, accidental, external confusion superadded to its native intricacies ought to be deplored by educationists. Doubtless, not a few instructors will pooh-pooh the added difficulty; for, quite aside from the sentimental attachment we feel for the system in which (or in despite of which) we have mastered all the initial difficulties ourselves, we naturally dislike unlearning and relearning anything, because of the unwonted labor this necessitates. The *vis inertiae* is apt to carry the day. But the hapless beginner who, in endeavoring to master the elements of Latin in the first year, has surmounted at length the tangle of some system of Latin orthoëpy, only to encounter a different system in the second year—and possibly still a third system in his third year—may be pardoned for giving up the whole curious and unsatisfactory tangle at this point, and for betaking himself to cribbing and to ponies, to evasion and equivocations and all manner of deceitful shifts in order to complete his course in some fashion. The pedagogical advantage of a unique system, extending from the lowest high school grade up to the highest class in the college, ought to need no demonstration.

But apart from this scholastic side of the question, there is a further practical advantage to be considered. As the official lan-

guage of the Catholic Church, Latin remains a universal tongue. Not only is it universal, but it is also a living tongue, used not merely in the stately pronouncements of Popes and Councils, but daily in the schools of theology and philosophy. It is the language of the text-books and of the lectures delivered thereupon and the discussions raised. It is not used thus as a "show" tongue, but as the common medium of communication between the professor and his pupils. It is not "bookish" merely; it is conversational as well. And the language remains, for Catholic priests who travel in foreign lands, the common medium of communication with their fellows in sacred orders. Truly, Latin is for us a living language. And yet it is said that the French Bishops assembled at the Vatican Council found it very difficult either to understand the discussions carried on by those of other nationalities, or to make themselves intelligible to the others. The living tongue had failed, namely, in one of its most characteristic and most valuable functions, as the common tongue of Catholic Christendom. To this day, at the College of Propaganda, a thesis in which a French-Canadian is to participate is given over exclusively to that speech; for the German, or Italian, or Spanish, or American "defender" will hardly grasp even the gist (not to speak of the finer distinctions) of the objection urged by a French speaker of Latin. And as for a general *disputa*—an exercise in theology at once and in Latin—the difficulties surrounding it are assuredly not lessened by a babel of conflicting systems of pronunciation. Yes, the disputants can "get along," but the gait could be made easier and more rapid if the whole Catholic educational world were to agree upon a unique pronunciation of Latin.

Is the thought just expressed an impracticable dream? Before deciding that it is, we might glance at the attempts to realize it made by those who have not a tithe of the sentimental and practical interest in the matter which Catholics ought to have.

For instance, what has been done by the secular colleges and high schools in America to unify Latin orthoëpy? A standard pronunciation has been adopted; and, if this "Roman" method, which is practically the exclusive system set forth in the vast output of text-books to-day, be any indication of the demand for it—and we may properly suppose that it is—that system is the one used almost exclusively to-day in non-Catholic high schools, colleges and universities.³

³ It is now something like twenty years since the so-called Roman or quantitative pronunciation of Latin was first generally introduced into the schools and colleges of the country. Prior to that most schools and colleges had used the English pronunciation; some few employed a pronunciation called the "continental." This last, however, was not one pronunciation, but several. In the sounds of the vowels it adhered to their prevailing pronunciation in the languages of Continental Europe, but the sounds of

If this unification of Latin pronunciation in America may be considered as at least a theoretical or nominal fact (for it may well be doubted that it is an actual fact, as the diversities of the "Roman" orthoëpy in practice appear to be as many and as great as those which had previously obtained in the "English" method, or methods, of pronouncing Latin), two things are clear: first, that this country is rather definitely committed, so far as pedagogues may be committed to any definite system of teaching, to the so-called "Roman" method; and second, that a sufficiently recent pedagogical prophecy has already been partially fulfilled.

Considering for the present only the second of these two notable conclusions, namely, the prophecy, we may recall the words uttered by the Rev. E. B. Mayor, professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, at a time when the movement for "reform" or "restoration" was in its infancy: "If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world." American scholars did accept the reform very heartily. About seventy colleges and universities in America had that system in operation a quarter of a century ago. These included Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia.

The wonderful spread of the system into apparently all of our colleges and high schools may be largely due to two things: first, the endeavor of colleges and high schools to have as instructors in Latin, men who have had post-graduate instruction therein in the more famous German universities; second, the closer correlation of studies effected recently between colleges and the preparatory schools. Many of our Catholic colleges have adopted the text-books which inculcate the system, although adopting the system itself, probably, in only a few instances.

While the prophecy has been rapidly fulfilled in America, it is curious to reflect that it has been fulfilling itself very slowly in England. Professor Mayor had been too sanguine in his prophecy:

"There is, I think, no great difference of opinion here in regard to the principles of Latin pronunciation; even the *w* sound of *v* is secure from ridicule. In practice there is great diversity. Many schools adopt the new pronunciation in the higher forms only, which seems like beginning at the wrong end. However, the result is that the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university is continually increasing. The

certain consonants, namely, *c*, *g*, *t*, *j*, *s*, were rendered with much variety. Both the English and continental pronunciations still survive in this country, though probably the two together are not represented by five per cent. of the Latin pupils of the secondary schools; in the colleges the percentage must be lower still.—*Bennett, loc. cit.*, p. 66.

old *mumpsimus*, both in respect to orthography and pronunciation, is doomed, and no longer ventures to put in a plea in arrest of execution. If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world."⁴

And yet, despite all this favorable outlook at Cambridge, a quarter of a century ago, and the activity of one of the professors at Oxford, who had prepared a "Syllabus of Latin Pronunciation" expounding the reform scheme, it is little more than two years (November, 1905), since a conference was held at Exeter College, Oxford, "to discuss . . . whether any reform, and if so what, should be introduced into the pronunciation of Latin as at present in vogue at Oxford and Cambridge, and the great majority of schools and colleges throughout the country."⁵

The "reform," however, is now progressing rapidly in England. The Exeter conference was "almost unanimously in favor of a change of some kind," and finally adopted *en bloc* (although not without some earnest protest) the changes suggested and drawn up in detail by a joint committee of the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies. These suggested changes recognize the much approved "Augustan" or "Roman" style of pronunciation.

Undoubtedly, then, unification is taking place everywhere but in our Catholic educational institutions, where we still rejoice in Pente-costal pronunciations. With not a tithe of the sentimental and practical interest we ought to have in such a question, our separated brethren are trying to do that for their "dead Latin" of ancient literature which would be so very helpful, in innumerable respects, if accomplished for our own official, living Latin. Will our Catholic Educational Association—that admirable body which, in its brief history, has already done so much for our system of Catholic education in America—use its unparalleled opportunities for unification of our diverse systems of Latin pronunciation?

Assuming, like the Exeter conference, that there is a need of unification, the next question confronting us is the character of the system to be preferred. Roughly speaking, we may choose some one of the following: The "Roman" or "Augustan;" the "Continental," which is rather a group of systems than a clearly defined system; the "traditional" (for lack of a better name) system, commonly used in Catholic educational institutions; the "English" system (whose name, it appears, is legion); or, finally, the "Italian" method.

While it is the purpose of this paper to arrive, by a process of exclusion, at the "Italian" system, an attempt will be made here to

⁴ Quoted in *The Methodist Review*, October, 1883, p. 726.

⁵ *The Ampleforth Journal*, December, 1905, p. 165.

show that that system has not merely negative, but as well some positive points of value to recommend it for universal adoption.

I. "ROMAN" OR "AUGUSTAN."

In trying to strike a balance between the professed advantages and the confessed disadvantages of this system, the reader may find himself compelled to weigh philology against pedagogy, theoretical gains against practical losses; and his judgment will perhaps be largely fashioned by his point of view. The Catholic educator will nevertheless arrive at a concrete judgment which must be defined by the limitations of the practical work of the class room—limitations well recognized by every instructor in Latin.

In trying to estimate the advantages of the Roman method, it may be proper to look at it, not with that eye of suspicion which is characteristic of conservatism when confronted with an innovation disturbing to its own ease, but with the enthusiastic gaze of the "reformer." What did the reform promise to its supporters? It is now nearly twenty-five years since a writer in the *Methodist Review* (October, 1883) argued zealously for its universal adoption in America. Let us examine his summary of the five advantages claimed in his day for the method.

I. "First, it is the *true* system, and hence in perfect harmony with the genius and structure of the language." This claim appears to remain to this day the shibboleth of the "Augustans," and in other terms, but with equal import, is advanced by Professor Postgate, of Cambridge (who was a prominent advocate of reform in the Exeter conference of November, 1905, already alluded to) in his "How to Pronounce Latin:" "The champions of the new pronunciation take *correctness* as their principle. Latin, they say, is a foreign language, and should therefore be pronounced as it was by those who spoke it, if their pronunciation can be ascertained."

Although the contention be so strongly urged, much store need not be set by it. It involves the assumption that "their pronunciation can be ascertained," the implication that it has been ascertained and the inference that, once ascertained, it should be followed by all who attempt to speak their language.

With respect to the assumption, it has been doubted that it "can" be ascertained. One of the speakers at the headmasters' conference, Malvern College (England), in 1906, wondered how near the philologists "had got when they had formulated these opinions and made them into rules, to the real pronunciation of Latin as they might suppose it to be? How near could they get to the pronunciation of a modern language, say of modern French or Italian, by the help of directions in a book? The pronunciation of a language was a

matter very largely indeed of intonation and accent; it was not concerned exclusively with the sound of the particular consonants or vowels." But even philology may not find it possible to fix with certain accuracy the vowel or consonantal sounds; and the uncritical student of language may hesitate to accept a conclusion, however confidently declared, which he finds disputed by other philologists. There may be much fact in this field of investigation, but we fear they may be also not a little fancy. One illustration comes under our notice, which may be alluded to here. Professor George P. Bristol, of Cornell University, speaks with great positiveness of the correct pronunciation of the *eta* in Greek, in his "The Teaching of Greek in the Secondary School" (New York, 1906): " η is almost without exception given the value of English *a* in *ba-bel*, though the true sound is nearer that of *a* in *babble*." This may be very true; but if its truth rest upon the reason which he appears to assign, we shall grow somewhat skeptical; for he continues: "In English we represent the bleating of sheep by *baa*. Cratinus, a poet of the fifth century B. C., represented it by $\beta\tilde{\eta}$ $\beta\tilde{\eta}$." Reasoning in similar fashion from the present English pronunciation of *bleat*, as an imitative word for the cry of sheep, we might argue that the *eta* should be pronounced like the long *e* in English, and thus corroborate the views of those who sustain the modern pronunciation of Greek as an equivalent of the classical usage. Or we might point to the fact that Varro, "the most learned of the Romans," represented the cry of sheep by the letters *be*; and we might argue that *e* in Latin should be pronounced nearly like *a* in *babble*. The question is surely not one of the symbol used to represent the sound in different languages, but the sound itself. Does a sheep cry *baa* (*i. e.*, the sound of *a* in *bar*, as our English dictionaries give it)? or *bée* (*i. e.*, the sound of *e* in *they*), as the French dictionaries give it? or *bä* (nearly *a* as in English *bare*) as the German dictionaries give it?⁶

It is not easy to acquire a correct pronunciation of a modern foreign language. The student of French, for instance, who finds the *a* in two such differently sounding words as *hat*, *father*, given in his "Method" as an equivalent for the French *a* (and the French *a* is the easiest of the sounds he will have to acquire), may well pity the Frenchman who tries to acquire a knowledge of English pronunciation from an English "method" or an English dictionary. But neither is it easy for us to gather from the diacritical marks of our

⁶ Our English dictionaries follow the pronunciation given by Walker, who in trying to furnish his readers with the sound of *a* in *father* remarks that it is the sound of *a* in *baa*, "the word adopted in almost all languages to express the cry of sheep." What are these languages? How could Walker venture to make such an assertion? It is interesting to find *baa* given in Sheridan's dictionary (London, 1780) with the sound of *a* in *babe*.

own dictionaries an exact view of the pronunciation of an English word. In both of these cases, nevertheless, the inquirer has known and living sounds which may serve as standards of comparison. What then must be the insecurity attending the acquisition of vowel and consonantal sounds in a dead language?

Such a doubting spirit may still linger despite learned demonstrations from the Roman grammarians, from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, from the occasional remarks of Cicero or of Quintilian, from the comparison of Latin words with their transliterations into Greek, or from various etymological equivalences.

Let us, however, agree with the judgment of Professor Bennett that in its essential features the pronunciation of Latin can to-day be restored substantially as the Romans spoke it, with restrictions to the effect that there are certain points concerning which the evidence is conflicting, that doubtless there were refinements of pronunciation which we may not hope to understand, but that scholarly research has nevertheless determined the value of the hidden vowel quantities with probably as great success as it may ever hope to achieve in this matter. Thus the implication that the "correctness" advocated by Professor Postgate has been attained may be admitted as a theoretical truth. But the question may next be asked: What is its practical value, whether to scholars such as Mr. Farnell (who in his opening speech at the Exeter conference lamented that continental scholars were debarred at present from anything like easy oral communication with Englishmen in the Latin language, because such a great gulf separated them in the matter of pronunciation) or to pupils in our schools?

With respect to the Latin scholar, it may be granted that, after years of study and practice of the Roman method, he may be more intelligible than he is at present to the continental scholar. We are not surprised that an ardent advocate of the method like Professor Postgate should be able to quote his own experience with a German friend who "found to his surprise, avowed without hesitation, that he had at last met an Englishman who could talk Latin intelligibly." This does not prove much for the Roman method, since those who have learned the traditional method used in Catholic colleges manage to make their Latinity intelligible everywhere on the continent, and not only to German scholars. It does prove, indeed, much against that English method of pronunciation which Gladstone described as "solitary and barbarous" and in which he would "gladly see the day when under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected."

With respect to the pupils forced to pronounce by this method, the testimony is not consentient. Early English testimony in the

history of the reform movement we have already heard from Professor Mayor, that "the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university (Cambridge) is continually increasing;" and present day testimony is that of the "Proceedings of the Classical Association," 1906: "An inquiry addressed by the Assistant Masters' Association last year to some one hundred and four schools elicited the fact that no less than thirty-four regularly employ the restored pronunciation; ten employ both styles, the old and the new, while the majority of the staff in twenty-three out of the sixty that at present employ the English pronunciation are in favor of reform." Important early American testimony is that of Professor Richardson, of Rochester University, N. Y.: "I am persuaded, from the experience of twenty-four years in teaching Latin, seventeen on the English and seven on the Roman system, that I can teach the important principles of the language far more successfully with the true than with the false system of pronunciation. I have given the two systems a fair trial, with no interest but to ascertain the truth; and I not merely *think*, but *know*, that by the daily use of the *true* pronunciation I can secure on the part of the student a much more intelligent and lively interest in questions pertaining to the etymology of the language, to its various inflectional forms and laws, to its quantities and, above all, to its metrical system and to its relations to kindred languages." Present day American testimony reverses all of the above appreciations, and this testimony is especially important, since it covers a much wider field of inquiry and has to do with conditions singularly favorable, inasmuch as the Roman method has been exploited in America with great zeal and with a record of conversions embracing practically the whole of our educational system. Professor Bennett, whom we have already quoted, writes: "As a matter of fact, few teachers and practically no pupils ever do acquire a pronunciation of any exactness (*sc.*, in the Roman method of pronunciation). Out of some twelve hundred freshmen whom I have tested on this point in the last dozen years at two leading American universities I have never found one who could mark ten lines of Cæsar's "Gallic War" with substantial quantitative accuracy. Nor is this all. For eight years I have conducted summer courses for teachers at Cornell University. This work has been attended by some two hundred teachers and college professors, nearly all of them college graduates, and many of them persons who had had graduate work at our best universities. Yet few of these have ever shown any thorough grasp of the Roman pronunciation, and most of them have exhibited deplorable ignorance of the first principles of its accurate application. Even college professors of eminence often frankly admit their own ignorance of

vowel quantity and proclaim their despair of ever acquiring a knowledge of it. . . . It is safe to say that only those who have devoted long and patient attention to the subject and who practice frequent oral reading can pronounce Latin with accuracy according to the Roman method. My observation teaches me that those who ever attain this accomplishment are so few in number as to constitute practically a negligible quantity."

Of what avail is it that the Roman pronunciation should be the "true" one, the one whose glorious prerogative it is to demonstrate its "correctness," if after twenty-five years of possession in our American educational system it can show such Dead Sea fruit?

II. "Second, it is the only one that we may expect will ever be generally adopted, because it is not mixed and corrupted with other nationalities, but stands out alone and unique. And all can adopt it without compromising any national peculiarities." It is a good argument with those who look on Latin merely as a literary language—as the dead bridge leading us towards a dead past, or as the cerements enwrapping a mummified civilization. Such is Latin for the student of Roman literature and Roman life of the Augustan age. Merging his little insularity of modern language environment in the vastness of the Roman territory, he feels that he is called on to sacrifice but little to become a citizen "of no mean city." But the very reverse aspect is that which Catholics are called upon to confront. They are already citizens of no mean city—they are participants of a living civilization whose conquest is a world-wide empire. The official language of this vast empire is also Latin—no dead tongue, but a living, everyday medium of intercommunication for the citizens who frequent its schools, study and expound its laws, hold communication with its world-wide officialdom. The Latin of the "classics" is precious, indeed, but also is that of the Fathers, of the mediæval schoolmen, of the present day theologians. The narrow limits of the Augustan age enclosed hardly a more brilliant coterie of writers than did the "spacious" days of Elizabeth; but just as the Englishman of to-day will not give up his living English tongue (varied though it be as are the shires of England) in order to stumble over the quaint spelling and pronunciation of the Elizabethan worthies, so neither does the Catholic fancy giving up his living Latin (varied though it be as are all the tribes and tongues and nations and peoples of earth) to grope and stumble over the so-called Roman pronunciation and spelling, after the uncertain and inaccurate fashion which, as Professor Bennett assures us, characterizes our professional Latin educationists. It would, indeed, be most desirable that all Englishmen should drop their local and variant forms of pronunciation and agree to use that of the polite world

of London; and it would be equally desirable that all Catholics should drop their nationalistic pronunciation of Latin and agree to use that of Rome. This would make for a splendid unity, would facilitate intercourse, would tend to bind more strongly the remotest portion of territory to the seat of government. But to ask either Englishmen or Catholics to give up a real, living unity such as they enjoy for a unity which drags them back through centuries of their expanding life to a narrow circle of the past—this is to ask them to bind themselves into cast-off fetters of thought and sentiment.

It may chance that the whole non-Catholic world of scholars will adopt the Roman method; in that case it would be desirable, for the very sake of antithesis, for the sake of the emphasis which should be laid on the grand fact of the living Latinity of the Catholic Church, that Catholics should concentrate similarly on one pronunciation of Latin. Let it, too, be "Roman"—Roman of the Pope and not of the Cæsar; Roman of the Christian, and not of the pagan. Christian Latinity can never be circumscribed within the Augustan limits of etymology, of pronunciation, of syntax; of ancient Roman ideas or ideals, purposes or plans. Its purview is wholly different, its outlook on life and manners, its necessities born of that outlook—all are at variance with "classical" Latinity. The Christian poets early broke away from classical restrictions; they had ideas to express that would not fit into the quantitative measures of the Augustan or even the post-Augustan Latin. If they were to sing at all, they must burst through that narrow cage; and those who knew best the classical usages were freest in disregarding it. Prudentius knew his Latin well enough. As Trench points out,⁷ when he wishes to use the intractable word *margaritum* in a hexameter verse, he makes the second syllable long, but restores to it the proper quantity when it is to be used in an iambic verse. Neither will he be debarred the use of *temulentus*, *delibutus*, *idololatrix*, *calceamentum* in a hexameter verse, for which the accurate quantity of certain of the syllables makes them unfit: "In the same way not ignorance nor caprice, but the feeling that they must have the word *ecclesia* at command, while yet, if they left it with the antepenultima long, it could never find place in the pentameter, and only in one of its cases in the hexameter, induced the almost universal shortening of that syllable among the metrical writers of the Church."

There is, moreover, a symbolism behind the Christian disregard of the restraints of classical prosody and phraseology. "Let the dead bury their dead;" Christianity was the new life. It still remains fronting us is: Which system will best unify all our divergences with the symbolism—even that portion of it which inheres in pronuncia-

⁷ "Sacred Latin Poetry," third edition, p. 9.

tion—remains to draw its line of demarcation between classicism and Christianity.

However the case be in England,⁸ it is fortunate for us here in America that, with our well developed and entirely unaided Catholic educational system, we are under no necessity of catering to the demands of secular universities in the matter of Latin pronunciation. We can maintain our own system wholly without reference to the linguistic experiments of our neighbors. While they have combined, however, to use only one system of pronunciation, we may well consider the desirability of combining amongst ourselves to use, in a similar way, only one Catholic system; and the question confronting us is which system will best unify all our divergences with least friction of national sentiments and with the greatest general gain?

III. "Third, it always distinguishes words of different orthography and signification by their sounds, while the English very often does not. Take, for example, the following words: *Censeo, censio, sentio*; or *cervus* and *servus*; or *cicer* and *siser*; *cella* and *sella*; *citus* and *situs*; *scis*, and *sis*, and *cis*; *amici* and *amisi*; or *circulus* and *serculus*. By the Roman method *every one* of the preceding words are (*sic*) uttered with an individual pronunciation, so that when you say *censeo* it cannot be misunderstood for *censio* or *sentio*. And when you speak of a *servus* it cannot be thought to be a *cervus*. And certainly this is an advantage in any language." The writer's contention is, of course, very good; it certainly is an advantage in any language to have the sounds fit the symbols without ambiguity. English is very bad in this respect; but it is interesting to note that Italian is extremely good in this respect. There is no word or syllable of a word in the examples chosen by the writer to illustrate

⁸ The recently-issued "Report of the Twelfth Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges Upon Secondary Education" makes it clear that the question of the pronunciation of Latin will soon have to be faced by Catholics, not as a subject for academical discussion, but as a matter of immediate and practical importance. At their meeting at Ushaw in May, the Catholic headmasters decided to memorialize the Board of Education and to point out the difficulties which would ensue were the new scheme of the Classical Association, which the board has adopted, to be enforced throughout the schools. The reply of the board, which is printed in the report, shows that the educational authorities are not inclined to reconsider their position, and that they will not go beyond the concessions made in their circular, to the effect that "if the authorities of any school recognized by the board still prefer to adopt a system of pronunciation other than that outlined in Circular 555, it is open to them to do so, but their scheme must be clearly explained when the curriculum is submitted to the board; and in no case can the use of any system be sanctioned in which proper attention is not given to quantity." The last few words should give us pause. . . . It is true that a great number of our secondary schools are independent of the board at present, but one cannot prophesy how long this immunity will continue.—*The Month* (London), September, 1907, p. 286.

the superiority of the Roman method of pronunciation, which has not its accurate and distinctive Italian sounds: *chen-say-o*, *chen-see-o*, *sent-see-o*; *chare-voose*, *sare-voose*, etc., and, for the penultimate example, *sheece*, *seece*, *cheece*. The traditional method of our Catholic schools, which uses English consonantal values with continental vowel values, could not discriminate at all in the given examples except in the one word *censeo*, where the value of *e* would distinguish it from the other two words (which, however, could not be interdistinguished).

IV. "Fourth, this system throws much light on the subject of Latin versification, and is the only one on which Latin poetry can be correctly read. As well might we undertake to recite the poems of Shakespeare and Milton, Bryant and Longfellow, according to French principles of pronunciation, as to read the Odes of Horace or the Eclogues of Virgil with purely Anglo-Saxon sounds. . . . Why, then, shall we persist in butchering the Latin poets?" Undoubtedly, the English method of pronunciation is highly unfavorable to the euphony and the barest accuracy of Latin verse. Apart from the question of quantity, and considering merely the vowel and consonantal sounds, the objection of the writer would not lie against the continental methods, and much less would it operate against the mellow Italian sounds. The question of quantity, however, could not so easily be settled; on this hinges largely the accurate recitation of Latin verse. But an accurate knowledge of Latin quantities is of slow, anxious, laborious growth. Will the crowded curriculum stand the strain? Do students—or even professors—actually acquire the knowledge?⁹

To the difficulty of quantity there is to be added the question of ictus. Was ictus stress or merely rhythmic division? In the rhythmic scheme of English verse we look upon it (theoretically) as stress—although the correct reciter of English verse will not so treat it in practice, under penalty of reading like a boy of ten years. Why, then, in reading Latin verse, do we give it stress?

Arma virumque canó Trojáe qui primus ab oris
Italiám fató profugús Lavinaque venit . . .

would make the Romans appear to have pronounced their words

⁹ It is not long since I listened to a professor of high position who gave at an educational meeting an illustration of his method of reading Latin poetry. The reading was prefaced with the candid declaration that the reader had never pretended to acquire an accurate knowledge of Latin vowel quantities, and despaired of ever doing so. The reading which followed proved the correctness of this statement. The opening line of Horace, "Odes," I., 23, was read thus:

Vītās inūlēō mē sīmīlīs Chlōē,

and was followed by similar violations of vocalic and syllabic quantity.—*Bennett, loc. cit., p. 76.*

one way in verse and another in prose—an incredible assumption. To read their verse accurately, this mistaken idea of the value of the ictus must be surrendered. But then, next, we face the question of accent. Was it a strong stress, as in English, a weak stress, as in Italian, or a scarce discernible one, as in French?

It is clear that many difficulties surround the question of how to recite Latin verse; and the question will not down: Is the game worth the candle? Are years of study to be sacrificed for this one gain? While in the English method Latin verse becomes harsh in sound, it is not so when it is read by continental methods, with some provision made for the swing of the rhythm. A slight knowledge of prosody will suffice for this, since the rhythmic scheme of the quantitative measure soon becomes familiar even to a sufficiently dull ear. We may be sure that Lord Tennyson could not read his beloved Virgil with that quantitative accuracy which is demanded by the Augustan theorists. And yet it is beyond question that he enjoyed thoroughly the sonority and swing of that Virgilian

stateliest measure
Ever moulded by the lips of man.

And his experiments in other Latin measures and stanzaic forms imitated in English verse will illustrate the possibility of a modern appreciation of Latin versification which is not founded on accurate modern knowledge of Latin quantities.¹⁰

Altogether, the world has managed to get along very comfortably in its appreciation of Latin versification without that "correctness" in the attainment of which, it would appear, professors and students alike of Latin are to-day hopelessly embarrassed. An easy solution of the difficulty would be to reject the "English" pronunciation first of all, and then, amongst the continental claimants, give our suffrage the mellifluous Italian pronunciation.¹¹

¹⁰ *E. g.*, in his "Hendecasyllables:"

O you chorus of indolent reviewers,
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,
Look, I come to the test, a tiny poem
All composed in the metre of Catullus,
All in quantity, careful of my motion . . .

also in his Alcaic stanzas:

Oh, mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,
Oh, skilled to sing of time and eternity,
God-gifted organ-voice of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages.

So, too, in his Sapphic stanzas (both in Latin and in Greek style), in his imitation of the elegiac couplet, etc.

¹¹ Another consideration not without some moment for Catholics is the fact that many of the most common Latin hymns have been written in rhythm, and not in measure. How could a student who has been trained to a correct pronunciation of long and short vowels render properly the rhythms of the hymns in the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, the "Stabat

V. "Fifth, it facilitates the study of comparative philology. The corruption of Latin pronunciation has isolated the Latin from its kindred languages. To see this plainly, let us compare the Latin and Greek. Various words in the two languages are substantially the same in spelling and in meaning. Take, for instance, the following Latin words, with their English pronunciation, and compare them with the corresponding Greek words:

Acoetis (a-see-tis) ἀχοιτις.	Cicero (sis-ser-o) Κικερων.
Cici (sai-sai) κικι.	Scipio (sip-i-o) Σκιπιων.
Cercurus (sur-cu-rus) κερκουρος.	Oceanus (o-shee-a-nus) Ωκεανος.
Coena (see-na) κοινος.	Cilicia (sil-ish-i-a) Κιλικια.

All the above Latin words, pronounced by the Roman method, would be recognized by the Greek scholar as of kindred origin with the Greek word on the same line. In fact, all the vowels, diphthongs and consonants in the above words are, by the Roman method, uttered just the same in both languages." The argument immediately precipitates the question as to how Greek should be pronounced; and for pupils who are taught the "modern Greek" style of pronunciation, the writer's contention falls absolutely to the ground; for such a pupil would pronounce ἄχοιτις a-kee-tis, and not a-koy-tis. The comparative philology of Greek and Latin will not help the student in pronunciation; for against almost any statement of equivalence, illustrations can be brought which would involve endless disputation. For a particular illustration, if *coena*¹² is to be pronounced *koy-na* (fitting the diphthong in sound with *oi* of *koinos*), how shall we explain to the pupil that the same *oi* occurring in plurals, etc., has been Latinized into a simple *i*, and should be pronounced like the long *e* in English?

Another practical difficulty on the philological side is the quality of aloofness contributed to innumerable English words by the Roman method.

The five advantages of the Roman method thus far considered are seen to dwindle somewhat on nearer inspection. Urged against the "English" method, they have some importance, but have much less value when urged against the Italian method. "Correctness" remains the chief attraction of the Roman method. If we examine some of the text-books which inculcate and illustrate the method,

Mater," the "Dies Irae," the "Veni Sancte Spiritus," the "Jesu dulcis memoria," the "Ave maris Stella," etc., not to speak of certain of the hymns composed in classical measures, without an undeviating respect for the accurate vowel-quantities?

¹² This illustration of Latin and Greek equivalence is not a happy one, since *coena* is a spelling for *cena*, and has nothing in "common" with the Greek κοινός.

the unique character of the correctness becomes rather blurred and hazy. First of all, what is the real distinction between a long vowel and a short one? Is it a distinction of time-value or of phonic-value? Or is it at once both temporal and phonic? Let us look at the scheme of vowel sounds:

ā as *a* in *father*.

ă as *a* in *idea*.

ē as *e* in *they*.

ĕ as *e* in *net*.

ī as *i* in *machine*.

ĩ as *i* in *holiest*.

ō as *o* in *holy*.

ŏ as *o* in *obey*.

ū as *u* in *rule*.

ũ as *u* in *full*, and

y has the *i* sound when used as a true vowel.

This is the scheme of sounds furnished in the *Methodist Review* of twenty-five years ago. Immediately preceding the table we read: "All of the vowels have two sounds, and two only." Immediately following the table we read: "There is thus but really *one* sound to each vowel and *two lengths* of it. In *ā* the sound is prolonged; in *ă* it is clipped. No merely English scholar will be surprised at these sounds, for they are of every day use in pronouncing our native tongue; the peculiarity consists in *limiting* these letters to these sounds." When the writer speaks of the "two sounds" of the vowels he is apparently referring to *quantity*. When he declares they have only one sound, he apparently refers to *quality*. Each vowel has therefore a single sound or quality, which when prolonged is called long, and when shortened or "clipped" is called short. This is intelligible, and is fairly well illustrated in *father* and *idea*, *machine* and *holiest*, *holy* and *obey*. But is the quality or sound of *e* in *they* quite the same as that of the *e* in *net*? In English, would not *they* illustrate the close sound of *a*, and not the open sound of *e*? The "Century Dictionary" bluntly gives *they* the sound of *a* in *dale*, *mane*. Now the *e* in "net" would be represented by its sound in *dell*, *men*. But *dale* and *dell*, *mane* and *men* cannot be described as having the same quality of vocalic sound. The difference between long and short vowels in English is one of quality, not of prolongation; in Latin, is it prolongation, or quality, or both together? The table will not help us out by the illustration it gives, coupled with the warning that every vowel has but one sound. Similarly, the sound of *u* in *rule* is of a different quality from that in *full*.

From among the writer's consonantal and diphthongal table of equivalences we shall select only two—"the digraph *qu* has the sound of *k* in king," and *eu* is to be pronounced as *eh-oo*, "two sounds, but uttered very nearly at once."

Taking next for inspection a writer of eight years later than the

above,¹³ we find that we must part company with the writer in the *Methodist Review*; for now the short sound of *e* in Latin is illustrated by the word *they*: “ē as *e* in *they*, ĕ the same sound shortened.” The digraph *qu* is now no longer like *k* in *king*, but like *qu* in *quite*. The teacher is warned also in a footnote that he must emphasize the distinction in sound between the long *i* and the short *i* in Latin as one of quantity and not of quality, “since ī and ĭ in English have quite different sounds.” But when next we turn to another textbook, the “New Gradatim,” edited by William C. Collar, we find that in Latin the long *i*=ī in *machine*, and the short *i*=i in “*pin*.” This book, by the way, gives the Latin ō as *o* in “*holy*” and the Latin ŏ as *o* in “*wholly*” (but with a warning footnote: “That is, as the word is commonly pronounced; the sound heard in *holy* shortened”—from which we may possibly gather that “*wholly*” is pronounced in New England as “*hully*”—or “*hawly*”?).

Harkness’ “Complete Latin Grammar” (1898), however, gives long and short *i* as *i* in *pique* and *pick*, respectively; long and short *o* as *o* in *holy* and *forty*, respectively; and the sound of vocalic *y* as “intermediate in sound between the Latin *i* and *u*, similar to the French *u* and the German *ü*.” The writer first quoted gives it flatly as the same sound as Latin *i*. Harkness remarks: “Latin vowels marked with the macron (—) are long in quantity, *i. e.*, in the duration of the sound; those not marked are short in quantity. . . . The short vowels occupy only one-half as much time in utterance as the long vowels, but they can be only imperfectly represented by English equivalents. They have, however, nearly the same sound as the corresponding long vowels, but, with the exception of *a*, they are somewhat more open.”

It is clear that the acquisition of the vowel sounds is not an easy matter in the Roman pronunciation. Neither are the diphthongs quite easy, if we wish to be absolutely correct; for while each of the component vowels is to retain its own sound, both sounds are to be very rapidly pronounced, so as almost to coalesce. Thus: *ae* and *ai* as the English pronounce *I*; *au* as *ow* in *now*; *oe* and *oi* as *oi* in *boil*; *ui* as the pronoun *we*; *ei* as *ei* in *veil*; *eu* as *eh-oo*, two sounds, yet uttered very nearly at once.

Allen & Greenough’s “New Latin Grammar” (1904) gives *eu*=*eh’oo*, *ui* as *oo’ee*, and *au* like *ow* in *now*, and *ai* as *ay*. The Exeter conference supported the pronunciation of *ae* as in the Greek *ai* (nearly) and *au* as in *flauto* (Italian). Meanwhile, Harkness and Collar give *eu* not as *eh-oo* or *eh’oo*, but as *eu* in “*feud*.” Harkness

¹³ “Inductive Latin Primer,” by William R. Harper, Ph. D., president of Chicago University, and Isaac B. Burgess, A. M., Boston Latin School. New York, American Book Company, 1891.

remarks: "In pronouncing *ae*, endeavor to unite the sounds of the Latin *a* and *e*, and in pronouncing *eu*, unite the sounds of *e* and *u*; but some scholars pronounce *ae* like *ea* in *pear*."

Devine si tu peux, et choisis si tu l'oses!

The consonants also are not without some slight difficulty. Thus some authorities simply will have the *r* as in English, while others will have it "trilled" (Harkness), or "probably slightly trilled with the tip of the tongue" (Bennett's "Latin Grammar," 1895). With respect to *m*: "Before a word beginning with a vowel, or with *h*, a final vowel, or a final *m* with a preceding vowel, seems to have been partially suppressed in the ordinary speech of the Romans, as well as in poetry. It was rapidly and indistinctly uttered, and thus it readily blended with the following vowel" (Harkness). The combinations *bs* and *bt* are to be pronounced *ps* and *pt*; the "parasitic *u*" in *qu*, and *u* "generally in *gu* and *su* before a vowel, has the sound of *w*: *quī* (kwe); *lin-gua* (lingua); *sua-sit* (swa-sit)" (Harkness). Bennett is more precise: "When *ngu* precedes a vowel, *gu* has the sound of *gw*, *anguis*, *languidus*;" "in compounds and derivatives of *suadeo*, *suavis*, *suesco*, *su* is equal to *sw*." Bennett further warns us that in the case of double letters, *ll*, *mm*, *tt*, both should be distinctly articulated; that *n*, when followed by a palatal mute, should be pronounced as *ng* in *sing* (the so-called *n adulterinum*), as *anceps*, pronounced *angceps*. The combinations *ph*, *th*, *ch*, "are properly like *p*, *t*, *k*, followed by *h* (which may, for convenience, be neglected); but *ph* probably became like (or nearly like) *f* soon after the classical period, and may be so pronounced to distinguish it from *p*." This might be illustrated by the English *hot-house* (for *th*), *block-head* (for *ch*), *uphold* (for *ph*). But perhaps the difference between these combinations and the sound of *p*, *t*, *k* is too slight for emphasis in a scheme of correct Latin pronunciation. They may be disregarded. Harkness, indeed, insinuates the propriety of some little carefulness: "In the aspirated forms of the mutes, *ch*, *ph* and *th*, *h* is in general nearly or quite silent, though sometimes heard, especially in Greek words."

In pronunciation, the question of syllabic division is not without its importance; but here the manuals will not help us towards unity or consistency of pronunciation. "In dividing words into syllables, as many consonants are united with a following vowel or diphthong as can be pronounced with it, except when such a division would obscure the composition of a compound word" ("Inductive Latin Primer"); this states the usual view pretty well. Harkness remarks that: "By some grammarians any combination of consonants which can begin either a Latin or a Greek word is always joined to the

following vowel, as *o-mnis*, *i-pse*. Others, on the contrary, think that the Romans pronounced with each vowel as many of the following consonants as could be readily combined with it, a view which is favored by the fact that a syllable with a short vowel becomes long, if that vowel is followed by two consonants, except a mute and a liquid—as one does not see how the consonants can make the syllable long, unless one of them belongs to it.” And concerning the rule requiring that compound words be separated into their components, he remarks: “But it is a question whether this traditional rule represents the actual pronunciation of the Romans, as it seems probable that compounds were pronounced like simple words.”

Bennett, in his “The Teaching of Latin,” etc. (p. 75), finds in this question a point of difficulty in teaching the Roman pronunciation: “Recent researches have shown that our traditional rules for syllable division, though they rest upon the express testimony of the Latin grammarians, were purely mechanical directions, and did not indicate the actual pronunciation. The actual division, moreover, must have been quite different from that which prevails in English under corresponding conditions.”

To the difficulties in defining and acquiring the exact vowel, diphthong and consonant sounds, and in separating the syllables, must be added the greatest difficulty of all—the determination and memorizing of the quantities of the vowels. It is not easy to acquire the rules for determining the quantities of vowels; and outside of the cases where the rules apply, there are thousands of vowels whose quantity can be learned and retained only by memory. Enormous as this labor is, to it must be added the difficulty surrounding the “hidden” quantities of vowels; for while a syllable containing a long vowel is long, a long syllable may nevertheless contain a short vowel. The learner cannot assume that a vowel before two consonants is long in quantity; it may be short, although the syllable in which it occurs is long. The length of the vowel sound—appallingly difficult as it is to acquire in practice, by the application both of many rules and much memorizing—is nevertheless of capital importance in the Roman pronunciation. The English Education Board, as we have seen, recognizes that it is such, and while allowing some deviations from the scheme of the “restored” pronunciation, will permit no deviation in the matter of quantity. That point is a cardinal one.

Our hasty glance over the field of the Roman pronunciation has not been a reassuring one. What shall be the final judgment on its availability in our schools? It is curious to note that while in England the movement for its universal adoption is a vigorous one, the lessons taught by our American experience—an experience covering a much wider educational ground as well as a longer space of time—

are all against that method of pronunciation. We have already quoted Professor Bennett's experiences respecting the professors and pupils who have so long struggled to acquire it. He is a disillusioned man; for—to quote his own words—"fifteen years ago my zeal for the Roman pronunciation was unbounded. For years I have been a conscientious student of the historical and linguistic evidence bearing upon the subject. For years I cherished the hope that with time and better teaching a decided improvement in the results yielded by the Roman pronunciation would manifest itself. But I am now convinced that no such advance has been apparent, and that it will not, cannot, ought not to be" (p. 79). In another place he wishes to "declare frankly" his "conviction that the introduction of the Roman pronunciation was a fundamental blunder, and that its retention is likewise a serious mistake" (p. 73). He declares that the Roman method is "extremely difficult"—so difficult, indeed, that "anything like an accurate pronunciation of Latin under the Roman system is practically impossible except by the sacrifice of an amount of time out of all proportion to the importance of the end to be attained;" that "those who urge its retention on the ground of its ease certainly are inexcusably blind to the facts;" that twenty years of experience of it has shown it to result in a "miserable failure;" that "it brings no compensating advantages," but does bring "certain distinct disadvantages," because of the added difficulty it puts in the way of the young beginner who is already sufficiently perplexed by the mere accident of Latin, because of the "chaos it has wrought in our current pronunciation of classical proper names, Latin quotations, proverbs, technical terms, legal phrases, titles of classical works, etc.," and because the pronunciation seems awkward and affected and is in reality unintelligible to many. "The result is a condition of affairs that is keenly felt by many classes of society—by none perhaps more than by the teachers of Latin, who, while protesting against the present anarchy, find themselves at a loss to effect any radical improvement." He therefore believes that "the retention of our present unmethodical 'method' of pronouncing Latin has proved itself a serious mistake."

This arraignment of the Roman, or Augustan, or "Restored" pronunciation is severe, but apparently well merited. The only virtue of that method is its "correctness;" and that correctness is not easy to explain or to attain. It is correct, also, only for the Augustan period; and the Latin of Plautus and Terence, antedating that period by more than a century, and that of Juvenal and Martial following it, must be read in the "Augustan" style of pronunciation. They must, of course, be read in some style; and that attributed to the Augustan or Golden Age is as good as any other, to be sure; but the

argument of correctness loses some of its force from the fact. When we remember that the "purest" pronunciation of English is that of cultivated Irishmen; that the English of the Elizabethan Age was different from that of the English "Augustan" or "classical" age, and that this was different from that of the Victorian Age, we may not be tempted to put too great stress on the argument of correctness, but shall be inclined to lend a readier ear to the argument of convenience and of practicability.

And the necessity of pronouncing by quantity makes the Roman method impracticable and extremely inconvenient. How any instructor in Latin can take up, day after day, the new text-books with their every page scored and disfigured with the macron drawn over the long vowels, with archaic spellings of words disturbing that sense of English analogy and etymology¹⁴ which the study of Latin is supposed to cultivate and illustrate—how the instructor can do this without feeling an uneasy apprehension lest the study of Latin, always difficult, should by the Roman method be made impossible, passes comprehension. The invasion of that method in America admirably synchronizes with the increasing decay of scholastic Latin. The pupils must be thoroughly discouraged with their task quite early in their course, if we may trust the complaints of college professors; for the material coming up from the preparatory schools, with their five hours a week of Latin for four years, is found to be deficient in everything—in the knowledge of syntax, of vocabulary, and even of the declensions and conjugations.

Will such a fate overtake the Roman pronunciation in England? It may happen thus; and the cycle may ultimately be completed with the restoration of the English method of pronunciation both there and in our own land. Or it may happen that, despite the efforts of the Education Board, the bulk of the English schools will refuse to accept the reform. The great public schools there are hard to move, it seems, "and the preparatory schools are consequently at present bound to the English method." "Meanwhile the names of Dr. Rendall, of Charterhouse; Dr. James, of Rugby, and Dr. Gow, of Westminster, who all spoke at the headmasters' conference in opposition to reform, deserved to be weighed rather than counted, and their attitude may give reason to think that the future of the new pronunciation is less rose-colored than it is usually painted."¹⁵ Like previous unsuccessful attempts at "reform" made in England and in Germany, this latest effort may fail. If it should fail, it will hardly leave things in their present anarchic state, however, for some meeting ground for continental and for English scholars must be devised. What shall it be?

¹⁴ *E. g.*, *Juppiter* for *Jupiter*, *epistula* (whence Eng. *epistolary!*), etc.

¹⁵ *The Month* (London), September, 1907, p. 293.

II. MODERN SYSTEMS OF PRONUNCIATION.

I. First of all, there is the "English" system, a return to which is frankly advocated by Professor Bennett. It has the advantage of lessening the initial difficulties presented to the student of Latin. The consonants offer no difficulty, since, by the unconscious operation of the instinct of analogy, he would pronounce them as he does in English under similar circumstances. The vowel sounds would vary somewhat from a clear standard, just as they do in English; but this is a localism inevitable even in English. There is the historic fact, too, that the study of the classics has been a traditional success in England, under that English method of pronunciation which, long used in America, has given place completely to the Roman method, with results which no educationist can applaud.

The disadvantages of the English method of pronunciation are nevertheless many. It is, as Gladstone said, a "solitary" and a "barbarous" method. Its insularity is geographically and symbolically evident. It is also harsh and unpleasant. It is, for many words, ambiguous (as the *Methodist Review* pointed out). The highest authorities in English educational circles reject it, and the English Educational Board confirms the rejection. We need not linger further, therefore, in its consideration.

II. The "Traditional" or "Old English" method is the one which, until recently, obtained in Catholic colleges in English-speaking countries. It was next in order of simplicity and ease to the English system, inasmuch as (with the exception of *u*) it pronounced the vowels in Latin as the continental languages mostly do, while retaining the consonantal values of English. It has the advantage of being intelligible to continental speakers of Latin, who can easily recognize the words uttered because of their vowel sounds, and can make allowance for the English consonantal values. It has the disadvantage of occasional ambiguity, from giving *s*, *c* and *sc* the single sound of *s*—*e. g.*, *sis*, *cis*, *scis*; *servus*, *cervus*; *coena*, *scena*, *Sena*; *scitus*, *situs*, *citus*, and so on. This traditional English system has, moreover, the disadvantage of a waning vogue. In England, for instance, the Italian pronunciation is said to be the most common amongst Catholics. In America, too, it is superseding the earlier system, while many Catholic educational institutions under German auspices are naturally accustomed to the German pronunciation of the consonants.

III. The French method is debarred by its fatal nasalisms and its peculiar sound of *u*. A French writer remarks that "la prononciation du latin en France est, de tous les pays, celle qui laisse le plus a désirer."¹⁶

¹⁶ "Méthode Complète du Chant Grégorien (Suñol)," Tournay, 1907, p. 63.

Catholic France is striving to replace the French pronunciation of Latin by the Italian system. It is not an easy task. But the French Benedictine monasteries have long since accomplished it; some distinguished universities have adopted the Italian system, and the dioceses of Soissons and Verdun have introduced it. When the International Congress of Plain Chant was held at Strassburg in the summer of 1905, the Bishop of Verdun wrote to its president, Dom Pothier, suggesting that the congress put itself on record for the universal adoption of the Italian method. In Montreal, Canada, the Archbishop devoted a pastoral letter to this one theme, with an elaborate scheme illustrating the Italian sounds in French letters, in which he strongly advocates the adoption of the Italian method.¹⁷

IV. With respect to the German method of pronouncing Latin, it may be pointed out that, as in England and in America, the effort has been made to replace it in Germany by the "Roman" or "Augustan" method. The effort has not, indeed, proved a success; but it may be revived by the recent successful agitation in English philological and educational circles, and may finally succeed. But even apart from this possibility, the German offers no compensating advantages over the "Old English" system. It is true that the universities in Germany have become the Meccas of students from many other countries, and especially from America; but in this respect it has not quite the peculiar influence exerted by the various "colleges" maintained by the Catholic world in Rome. From every part of the world there flows an unintermittent stream of pupils to that Christian metropolis—pupils who remain there for many years, obtain accurate notions of Italian pronunciation, and have much practice in it, and frequently return to their native shores to occupy chairs in their diocesan colleges and seminaries. This process is increasing as the years go by; and slowly, perhaps, but surely, the whole Catholic world is becoming more and more leavened with the Italian pronunciation of Latin. But again, even if the propaganda of German and Italian pronunciations of Latin were nearly equal

¹⁷ Cf. *La Semaine Religieuse*, Montreal, 18. Dec., 1905. Amongst other things, the Archbishop says: "Unity in pronunciation is desirable above everything. In His providential designs, God wished the successors of St. Peter to make the language of the triumphant Romans the idiom par excellence of the Holy Catholic Church. Is it not important that this unique tongue be pronounced in a uniform manner? . . . The young levites in seminaries will easily master the theory and the practice of it according to the summary of the principles given in the adjoining sheet. All the priests would do well to make an effort to adopt it. It has already been introduced into some choirs and into several religious communities. It is far from presenting the difficulties one might suppose. Once it shall have been adopted universally, people will love it and will recognize its harmony and beauty." The letter is not a perfunctory recognition of the growing sentiment in favor of the Italian system of pronouncing Latin, but is a zealous and stimulating appeal for its adoption on all sides.

in influence, there remains the difficulty offered to beginners in Latin by the German sounds of certain letters. The simple vowels are like those in Italian. Of the modified vowels, however, *ö* and *ü* have no English equivalent, while *a* has a sound intermediate between *a* in *bare* and *e* in *bed*. Neither is it quite exact to say that the diphthongs *eu* and *aeu* are like *oy* in *boy*. The consonantal sounds are not easy or representative of the English letters. Thus *b* and *d* are as in English, when they begin a syllable; but are as *p* and *t* when they end it. When *s* begins a word in front of *p* and *t*, it is usually sounded like *sh*; when beginning a word or syllable, and before a vowel, it is like soft *z*, but is like sharp *s* when ending a word or syllable. For *ch* we have hardly an English equivalent—sometimes it is a soft, sometimes a hard guttural.

V. There remains for consideration the Italian system. Little need be added to the accumulation of advantages which it is seen to possess when compared with the other systems which we have examined. Unlike the "Old English" system, it is not ambiguous; it discriminates between *cervus* and *servus*; *scis*, *cis*, *sis*; *scitus*, *citus*, *situs*; *scena*, *coena*, *Sena*, etc. It is a singularly phonetic language—it pronounces as it writes, and writes as it pronounces. Despite the occasional differences of opinion expressed concerning its pronunciation of *mihi* (mee-hee, mee-kee), *excelsis* (ex-chel-sis, egg-shell-sis, ek-shel-sis), it is not a difficult language to pronounce. The exceptions simply prove the rule; and the humor expended over these exceptions by those who speak English (with its countless illustrations of puristic controversy over *na-ture* and *na-cher*, *as-sioom* and *as-soom*, and the infinite gradations of local variants of the vowels) is an almost tragic example of the parable of the glass house. Rome gathers into its officialdom men from all parts of Italy, and from all parts of the world. That Roman pronunciation of Italian is not absolutely unique in the case of certain few words is not to be wondered at. Listen to the pronunciations of English you hear in London (from the cockney driver to the parliamentary whip), or of French you hear in Paris (from Chaucerian Stratford-atte-Bowe to the pure Touraine speech), and you will marvel at the comparatively unique pronunciations of Italian in Rome—Italian not alone of the Italians, but Italian of all the peoples of earth.

In the world of learning the seeds of the Italian pronunciation of Latin are being annually scattered throughout the length and breadth of Christendom by the ecclesiastical graduates of the Roman colleges. A similar process is going on in the world of art. Painters, sculptors, singers also flock to Italy to study the arts on their native heath. Of these, singers the world over are constantly using the Italian pronunciation in concerts and in church services. Vast audi-

ences and congregations are thus becoming more and more familiarized with that pronunciation. And there is another factor in the spread of Italian which deserves some amount of consideration—the vast exodus, namely, of the children of Italy to all manner of foreign shores. The process of diffusion of that pronunciation goes on thus rather in a geometrical than in a merely arithmetical progression.

While all this formal and informal instruction is going on, there is one factor that should not be lost sight of. The reform movement in church music has produced many manuals of the Gregorian chant. These manuals appear to agree wondrously in insisting on the Italian pronunciation of Latin as a necessity for the correct interpretation of the spirit and execution of the traditional melodies of the chant. No nationalism, no insularity of pronunciation asserts itself here. In English we have the "Grammar of Plain Song," by the Benedictines of Stanbrook Abbey, England, devoting four closely printed pages to an exposition of the Italian pronunciation of Latin; the "Manual of Plain Chant," by the Rev. Sisbert Burkard, devoting two pages thereto; the "New School of Gregorian Chant," translated from the German of the Rev. Dom Johnner, O. S. B., giving also two pages to that method. Thus England and Germany give important suffrages to that pronunciation. As for the French, this Italian method is advocated strongly in the translation into French of Dom Suñol's work on the chant (1907), the translator remarking that the importance of the pronunciation of the liturgical text in Gregorian chant is such that any defect in it is immediately hurtful to the integrity and the splendor of the chant itself (p. 63).

It looks like a sufficiently strong current, this, setting Romeward in pronunciation. Shall we help the movement, or, vainly trying to stem it, cause it to move sluggishly? Doubtless there are some who dislike the Italian consonantal sounds of *c* and *gn*. It is a small matter on which to base opposition; and it must meet the curious advocacy of Milton, "the most eminent classical scholar of his day," whose letter to Mr. Hartlib on education contained this precious morsel of advice for the teaching of Latin to the young folk of the school: "Their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible to the Italian, especially in vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a Southern tongue; but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French."

The initiative in this movement for a standard pronunciation of Latin in our high schools and academies and colleges and seminaries

can best be taken by the Catholic Educational Association. In its meeting the subject could be dealt with satisfactorily, and the conclusion arrived at would doubtless find hearty endorsement on all sides.

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A SCOTCH APOSTLE.

WHEN Rinuccini, who afterwards, as Papal Nuncio, played so prominent a part in Irish history during the stirring epoch of the Catholic Confederation, was Prince Archbishop of Fermo, he heard that in the Capuchin convent of Monte Giorgio in his diocese lived a foreign religious who had the reputation of being a man of prayer, of profound learning and unbounded generosity, whose apostolic ministry had been signalized by striking success. This was the guardian, Father Archangel Leslie, a member of a noble Scotch family who, far away from his native heath, had embraced the austere life of a mendicant friar, hiding his identity and rank as Count George Leslie under the humble habit of a Franciscan. How he came to put off the trappings of pride for the garb of humility, to leave country, home and kindred to become a simple religious in a foreign land, he related to the Archbishop, who became his first biographer.¹ It was in a sanctuary of Our Lady,

¹ "Il Capuccino Scozzese," Firenze, 1645. At chapter xviii., p. 228, Mgr. Rinuccini says: "What researches have I not made! I have consulted the records of the order, the books of the Roman Curia, letters received from England; I have questioned a crowd of Scotchmen who came into Italy; I have sought with extreme care all the documents that could give me any information."

There is also a Life by Fray Basilio de Teruel, published in Madrid in 1659; one by Père François Beccault, printed in Paris in 1664; another in Portuguese by Fray Cristobal Almeida, an Augustinian, printed in Lisbon in 1667; one in Spanish by Fray Francisco de Ajofrin, archivist of the Capuchin province of the two Castilles, published at Madrid in 1737, and an elaborate one in French by Père Richard, a Capuchin, published by Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, of Tournai. Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham has written a biographical sketch, which can only be described as a burlesque biography ("Father Archangel of Scotland and Other Essays by G. and R. B. Cunninghame Graham." London, Adam and Charles Black, 1896.) It is singular that neither the "Encyclopedia Britannica" nor "Chambers' Encyclopedia" make mention of this distinguished member of the Leslie family, although others less worthy or noteworthy, if more notorious, are chronicled in their pages. "Chambers' Dictionary of Biography" dismisses him contemptuously in a few lines, throwing discredit upon Rinuccini's biography, the only one it mentions.

an oratory containing an antique image of the Mother of God, situate at the mouth of the river Lete, which flows through the territory of Fermo, they met. Formerly served by monks, who abandoned it, and taken possession of by the chapter of the metropolitan church, it became, in Rinuccini's time, a place of pilgrimage to the inhabitants of the surrounding country, the March of Ancona, the Alps, Tuscany and Calabria. When all Italy was visited with a plague, during the darkness of night, globes of fire and miraculous light were seen over the little chapel. The fishermen who were casting their nets in the deep sea, the gamekeepers who were keeping watch on the mountains were the first witnesses of these prodigies, soon noised abroad among the wondering population. As soon as he made himself certain of the reality of this event, the Archbishop repaired processionally with all his clergy to this sanctuary, to which, he says, "Mary seemed to invite us to come to implore and receive her benefits."

Thither, from time to time, went Father Archangel Leslie to pay homage to the Madonna del Lete. As he had to pass through Fermo, he often met the Archbishop, and a close friendship was the result. "I would have considered myself culpable in the eyes of God," writes Rinuccini, "in keeping hidden under a bushel the light of this holy religious' ardent charity. I therefore employed him in preaching the Gospel in my vast diocese, in which he acquitted himself to the great profit of souls; I took him into my counsel, upon which I have always congratulated myself; I got him to preside at ecclesiastical conferences, in which he distinguished himself by his prudence, wisdom and profound theological learning; I gave him all my confidence, to which he ever responded by fruits of extraordinary diligence."

When obedience summoned the Capuchin from the Convent of Monte Giorgio to that of Ripa, the Archbishop lamented the loss of such a saintly and prudent counsellor. One evening, when he was spending some days in his edifying company along with Father Pica, rector of the Oratorians, as they were seated at the foot of a rustic Calvary in that enchanting solitude, listening to the birds singing and the soft music of the many-sounding sea, admiring the beauties of nature, their thoughts being wafted from nature up to nature's God, he claimed from Father Archangel fulfillment of a previous promise and heard for the first time from the friar's lips the moving story of his life. "When he had ceased speaking," says Rinuccini, "Father Pica and I were so absorbed in admiration of what we had just heard that we resumed our promenade along the garden walks without uttering a single word. At last, having recovered myself, I drew Father Pica aside and said to him: 'As

you have every facility of seeing each other often, try and get Father Archangel to talk to you again about the incidents of his life and take notes, which you will please send to me; for I intend some day writing this history for the edification of the faithful.' ”

The story of the Capuchin friar's life, tinged somewhat with the color of romance, is interestingly illustrative of the country which gave him birth, of the epoch in which he lived and of the order to which he belonged. In the world he was the bearer of a name which figures rather prominently in the history of Scotland. The Leslies, of remote Hungarian descent, settled in Scotland in the twelfth (1171-1199) century. The manor and domain of Monymusk, near Aberdeen, were first conferred by Malcom III. upon a Hungarian knight, Bartholf, one of those who accompanied Edgar and his daughter Margaret—known to history and hagiography as Saint Margaret—in their flight to Scotland after the Norman Conquest.² He was the founder of the illustrious house of the Counts Leslie, which gave to Scotland a large number of distinguished personages.³ George

² La sua gente veniva d'Ungheria con un Bartholomeo, dei pui illustri che nel secolo undecimo accompagnarono S. Margherita, prima nel suo ritorno in Inghilterra, poi nella fuga in Iscozia (“Storia della miss. dei Cappuccini,” II., p. 104).

³ They took their surname from Lesslyn, or Leslie, a wild pastoral parish in Aberdeenshire. The family was ennobled in 1457, when George Leslie, of Rothes, was made Earl of Rothes and Lord Leslie. The fourth earl was father of Norman Leslie, who stained his name by the murder of Cardinal Beaton. John Leslie, the sixth earl, who died in 1641, was one of the most prominent leaders of the Covenanters. His son became Lord Chancellor of Scotland (1667), and was created Duke of Rothes, Marquis of Ballinbreich, Earl of Leslie, etc. These honors became extinct upon his death, when the earldom passed to his eldest daughter. Before the family left Aberdeenshire it had thrown off branches, some of which still exist—Earls of Leven, Lords Lindores, Lords Newark and Counts Leslie. Walter Leslie, a younger scion of the house of Balquhain, distinguished himself in the Austrian army, and was created Count of the Empire (1637). Dying without issue in 1667, he was succeeded by his nephew James, a field marshal in the Austrian service, who died in 1694. This title became extinct in 1844. One of the most remarkable personalities the family produced was John Leslie (1527-1596), Bishop of Ross, a Scottish historian and statesman, who signalized himself as a champion of Catholicism at the Reformation, taking part in a famous controversial discussion in Edinburgh in 1561, when Knox was one of his antagonists. He had a very checkered career. He was one of the commissioners sent to France to bring over the ill-fated Mary Stuart to be queen, and became her most staunch and steadfast supporter and defender. He was Abbot of Lindores, and in 1565 was made Bishop of Ross. It was he that projected a marriage between Mary Stuart and the Duke of Norfolk, which was frustrated by the execution of that nobleman. For this he was given in charge to the Protestant Bishop of Ely, and afterwards imprisoned in the Tower, where he wrote his “History of Scotland” and, to afford spiritual aid to Mary, his “Pia Consolationes.” Liberated and banished in 1573, he went to Rome and France, and, after twice suffering imprisonment, was made Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy, with license to hold the Bishopric of Ross till he could obtain peaceable possession of his former

Leslie, son of James Count Leslie and Jean Sylvia Wood, his Countess, was born in 1574 in the ancestral home of the family, which, like most of the Scotch titled families, was Calvinist to the core. His father, who died when his son was still very young, stipulated in his will that the heir to his title and estate, as soon as he was old enough to begin the study of what in old-fashioned academic phrase used to be called *belles-lettres*, should be sent to Paris to pursue his course. If he could have foreseen to what this provision would lead he would have promptly canceled it. His widow, a bigoted Calvinist, who brought him up in the severe tenets of that gloomy creed, and who by a second marriage became Baroness Forrey, in due course sent him to Paris in company with a tutor and with a solemn warning to beware of the Papists and to preserve his Protestantism intact!

Man proposes, but God disposes. One "who ordereth all things sweetly" had so ordered or directed the course of events that young Leslie, who endeared himself to his teachers and companions by his gentleness, affability and rare modesty and astonished every one by his marvelous progress in knowledge, formed a close friendship with two brothers, fellow-students, who became instruments in the hands of Providence to detach him from the most repulsive and Puritanical form of Protestantism and lead him into the one true fold.* When he refused to accompany his tutor to the Calvinist prayer meetings at Charenton, near Paris, to which a decree of Henri IV. had relegated them, and the poor man learned that his pupil had made his abjuration and become a Catholic, he used every argument he could think of to shake his resolution, but the young Scotch convert stood firm—although in lurid language the distracted dominie portrayed the horror with which his family would regard his perversion from Protestantism, his mother's grief and despair, how friends and kindred and the whole Scotch nobility would shun him as one plague stricken and how he could never more make his appearance again in his own house or in his native land after sully-ing the family escutcheon with such an indelible stain! When the Baroness heard the news her wrath rose to such a pitch that she wrote to him declaring that she would never more recognize him as her child, would deprive him of his property, efface his name from the ancestral roll and abandon him to his fate if he did not at once

see. He died in 1596, in a monastery at Gurtenberg, near Brussels, to which he had retired. Besides Father Archangel, the Capuchin, there were three other Leslies priests—Alexander Leslie (1694-1758), a Jesuit, distinguished as an Orientalist and as prefect of studies in the Scots College and English College, Rome; William Leslie, rector of the Scots College, Douay, and Father John Leslie.

* Despite numerous researches, the French biographer was unable to trace the family name of the young men who brought about his conversion.

renounce Papist abominations and return to the religion of Calvin, with a contrary assurance of the most seductive promises if he obeyed her and corresponded with her wishes. In the course of his reply, having reminded her of the words of Christ, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me" (Matthew x., 37), and of the Apostle's response to the Jewish elders, "Better to obey God than man" (Acts v., 29), said: "I only knew the Catholic religion by the false portrayals and black calumnies which the ministers of the pretended reformed religion disseminate against it. To deceive simple hearts and make dupes, they artfully disfigure what is most reasonable, holiest and worthiest of veneration in that religion. So nothing has more surprised me than the exposition of Catholic doctrine such as I have heard it from the mouths of those who profess it; so different have I found it from what I have always been told. Believe me, good and loving mother, I have no interest in deceiving you; it is only after having prayed much, studied long, attentively observed the conduct of the most honorable and best educated men among the Catholics, only after the Lord had made known to me the truth in a manner so clear, so evident that it would have been pride and rebellion on my part to resist, that I determined to embrace that holy religion which, a century ago, was that of our ancestors. Ah! I haven't the least doubt, my good mother, that one day the Lord will open your eyes also; like me, you will see the resplendent light of the Catholic faith and embrace it with all your heart, as I have embraced it. It is my most earnest wish, and I declare before God who sees me, who sees the sincerity of my heart, to obtain for you that grace, my good mother, I would willingly endure the most terrible torments and the most cruel death." On receipt of this letter, which destroyed all her hopes, her anger exceeded all bounds. She broke off all correspondence with him, all relations and ordered his tutor to return immediately and leave him to himself. Cut off and cast adrift in Paris, having, as a convert to Catholicity, forfeited any claim upon his patrimony in accordance with the penal laws then in force, after repairing to the church where he had made his abjuration and spending some time in silent prayer before the tabernacle, he told his friends of his mother's cruel decision in his regard. The father of these young men received him as he would a son, and he was treated and regarded as if he was one of the family.

After two years spent in attending lectures at the university, where he went by the name of "the Scotch saint" among his fellow-students, his benefactor sent him, along with his sons, to Rome, with the view of broadening and applying the education they had received through the medium of the supplementary education of travel. At

the conclusion of their sojourn in the Eternal City, to the great regret of his attached friends, who had learned to love him as a brother, he announced to them his resolution to remain in Rome and not return to Paris. For the second time, and when he was scarcely seventeen, he found himself alone in the world.

While his friends were visiting the different monuments, he had passed a great portion of his time with the Capuchins in their Convent of St. Bonaventure. At that time, the beginning of 1591, there was a distinguished member of that order in Rome, known in religion as Père Ange de Joyeuse, in the world as Henri de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage, Duc de Joyeuse, peer and marshal of France, Governor and Lieutenant General of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Perche and Languedoc, who after the death of his virtuous wife, Catherine de la Valette, eldest sister of the Duc d'Epemnon, put on the Capuchin habit, under which he lived holily for five years, dying at Rivoli, near Turin, on September 27, 1608. The young Scotch Count opened his mind to him, told him the story of his conversion and how he was disowned by his family and exiled because he would not renounce the Catholic faith he had embraced. Père Ange not only consoled him and exhorted him to perseverance, but warmly recommended him to a prelate who received him into his own palace and made him the recipient of a hospitality worthy of a prince of the Church; from which it is to be inferred that the hospitable prelate was his brother, Cardinal de Joyeuse. But it was not in a princely palace, but in a convent cell he was oftenest found. During the months he sojourned under this prelate's roof he spent all the time in spiritual exercises or in visiting Père Ange in his cell, feeling more and more drawn to the Capuchins, in whose companionship he delighted, observing every detail of their life, copying their virtues and conforming his manner of living and, as far as possible, his outward garb to theirs. He soon conceived a desire of imitating the noble example of Père Ange de Joyeuse, but underwent many interior conflicts, many wrestlings of the spirit, many temptations to discouragement before his resolve was fixed by hearing these words as it were interiorly: "Fear not, my son, enter courageously on this way of life and do not be so distrustful of thy weakness, for I am with thee to sustain it and shall never abandon thee; thou dost not act of thyself in this matter, but by My divine will. The contradictions thou hast overcome in France were much more difficult than these which are now reserved for thee. Consider, in sacrificing thy will in the inconveniences, penances and mortifications of the religious life, thou givest it to Him who is absolute master of it and to whom thou owest thy whole entire self, body and soul." And in relating this phase of his inner life and the thoughts sug-

gested by the evil one, which made his nights restless, Father Archangel says: "These words, which I distinctly heard, were to me like sweet music which stilled the tempest of my heart. I took a small crucifix which was on my table and, pressing it to my breast, threw myself on my bed, where I soon fell into a peaceful sleep."

Early next morning he sought Père Ange, and, throwing himself on his knees, kissed his feet. The humble Capuchin protested against this extraordinary manifestation and asked him for what reason he showed such excessive deference to one who, of all the sons of St. Francis, was the most unworthy of it. "Ah! father," he replied, "I appreciate all I am indebted to you for, and now I come again to ask of your charity a service for which I shall be grateful to you as, after God, the author of my salvation." Father Angelus having promised to do all he could to oblige him, he begged him to **facilitate his joining the Capuchins**; and, after some hesitation and having satisfied himself as to the solidity of his vocation, he presented him to the general, who raised what seemed to be an insurmountable objection, several bulls which forbade the Capuchins **receiving into their houses converted Protestants**, advising him to seek admission into some other order to which the Papal constitutions left freedom of action. Père Ange pointed out that these bulls only applied to those who, born of Catholic parents, returned to the Church after having denied their faith, and not to those who, born in heresy, had afterwards abjured their errors. The general, though impressed by these considerations, postponed his decision. George Leslie, meanwhile, felt prompted during prayer to appeal to the Pope, to whom he tearfully told the story of his conversion, and heard from the lips of the Holy Father the consoling words: "Very good, my child. Go at once to the father general of the Capuchins; tell him, in our name, that we admit you into his order." The general, on receiving the Papal mandate, exclaimed: "Blessed be God! I need no other evidence to know what heaven requires of me!" He embraced the new novice, to whom he gave the name of Archangel and his obedience for the Camerino Convent, where the novitiate was situated. Then ensued a contest in humility in which none was vanquished and both were victors. The general cast himself at the feet of his postulant in a spirit of supplication and thanksgiving, craving pardon for the refusal and delay and secretly, in the depths of his heart, giving thanks to God for this manifestation of the divine will through the mouth of His Vicar. The novice, begging him to rise, knelt in turn at his superior's feet and humbly asked his first paternal blessing, affectionately bestowed. This took place in 1591, when the Most Rev. Father Jerome, of Politio, was general and when George Leslie was seventeen.

His vocation was subjected to another test when, having knocked at the door of the friary at Camerino, he knelt at the guardian's feet and made known to him the object of his coming. The novice master, to try his constancy, having disclosed to him the austerities of the order, concluded by stating that he was not sufficiently enlightened or experienced to undergo such an ordeal. "No doubt," he added, "the father general has given you your obedience; but I think you are still too young and your health too delicate for me to take upon me the responsibility of your reception." But the young Scotsman pleaded so earnestly and evinced such good dispositions, that the novice master yielded to his entreaties and gave him the habit. After the lapse of six months his constancy was again put to the test when a young gentleman who had known him at Rome visited him and used many plausible arguments to induce him to return to the world, but in vain, his visitor leaving him with the impression that he had held converse with a saint. After a novitiate, during which he edified the whole community by his assiduous cultivation of the cloistral virtues, he made his profession in 1593, was raised to the priesthood in 1598 and at once began missionary work in the March of Ancona and the neighboring provinces.

Meanwhile his mother, relenting of her harshness towards him, learning where her son was and that he had become a Capuchin—a proceeding which, to her thinking, compromised the family honor—sent his stepbrother, now Baron Forrey, to Italy to induce him to return to Scotland, where his father's heritage awaited him and where his mother, now repentant of her ill treatment, would receive him with open arms if he would only put off the coarse habit he had assumed. He found him in the Convent of Urbino, where he was making great progress in virtue and sacred science under the direction of the guardian, Father Justus De Bonnefoy, nephew of Nicholas De Bonnefoy, Bishop of Chiusi and Governor of Rome during the Pontificate of Pope Julius II., a profound theologian who possessed such a perfect knowledge of the Summa of St. Thomas of Aquin that he was called "the second Angelic Doctor."

The Duchy of Urbino was then governed by Francesco Maria de la Rovere, Duke of Urbino and Count of Montefeltro, who entertained the Scotch noble and lodged him in his palace. The visit to Italy eventuated quite otherwise than the Scotch Baroness and her envoy anticipated. Instead of succeeding in leading George Leslie back to Scotland, where he was assured he would be allowed to practice his religion freely if he would only lay aside the religious habit, Francis Forrey, after frequent conferences with Father Archangel and the guardian, was led to follow his stepbrother's example and abandon Calvinism for Catholicism. The Duke, who had some

share in bringing about this happy result, determined that the event should be signalized by a public ceremonial and rejoicings. The church bells were rung, and, on the appointed day, the Baron was driven in the Duke's carriage through crowded and decorated streets to the Cathedral, where the neophyte was received by the Archbishop and his chapter and a numerous concourse of clergy, and, after the chanting of the "Veni Creator," solemnly made his abjuration of the errors of Calvin and profession of the Catholic faith. His return to the palace was a triumphal march, the day closing with a splendid *festa*, by which the Duke designed to suggest some faint idea of heaven's rejoicings over his conversion.

But these rejoicings were soon to be followed by revilings. As the life of every Christian must be conformed in some way to that of the Saviour, the lights that gleamed in the Cathedral fane at Urbino were like the light on Thabor which preceded the gloom of Calvary. As soon as his mother discovered, on his return, that he not only failed in his mission, but had himself abandoned the creed of Calvin for that of Rome, she denounced him as a traitor, exclaiming: "Miserable woman that I am! I have lived till now only to wish I was dead! I thought I had borne sons, but now I find they are vipers!"⁵ Throwing at him contemptuously an enameled chain and gold reliquary which he had received from the Duke of Urbino as a souvenir of his conversion, and which she regarded as a badge of slavery and idolatry, she drove him out of the house, bidding him share his brother's exile and never come into her presence again.⁶

While this was taking place the exiled son was making his mother's conversion the object of his daily prayers and penances, cherishing an earnest desire to go to Scotland, ready to risk his very life for the salvation of a soul so dear to him as well as for the conversion of his kindred and his fellow-countrymen. Events were gradually leading up to the fulfilment of his wishes. While he was acquiring fame as an eloquent preacher and missionary friar in Italy, momentuous events were changing the course of history in France. On May 16, 1610, Henri IV. was assassinated by Ravallac. Succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Louis XIII., Marie de Médicis was proclaimed regent by the Parliament of Paris. Eight years afterwards the young King, who had a special regard for the Capuchin Order, wishful of having a preacher of distinction, charged his ambassador at Rome to request the superiors of that order to send to France a religious of known virtue and talents. The choice of a court preacher fell upon Father Archangel Leslie, whose birth, learning, edifying life, eloquence and knowledge of the French

⁵ "Franciscan Annals," l. c. T. IV., 52.

⁶ "Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini," II., 409.

language, which he spoke with purity and fluency, at once marked him out for the post. The Capuchins, highly esteemed throughout France and counting among them some of the highest personages in the kingdom, had then peaceful possession of their convent in the Rue Saint-Honoré, undisturbed by apprehensions of March decrees or separation laws like their successors under the revolutionary *régimes* which have sent so many French religious adrift in these latter days.

Father Archangel was not slow to gain the confidence of the youthful monarch, the Queen and the whole court. The influence of his preaching gradually made itself felt in the changed habits of life of many of the courtiers. It was wisely directed more to moving hearts than to stimulating imaginations, and eschewed lurid word-painting and scholastic subtleties.⁷

He had been filling this important function for four years when Paul V. died and was succeeded by Gregory XV., during whose short Pontificate (1621-1623) the Congregation of Propaganda was established. It owes its origin to the saintly Capuchin, Girolamo of Narni, a celebrated preacher, of whom the illustrious Cardinal Bel-larmine, after hearing one of his sermons, said: "I have just been listening to St. Paul."

The Congregation, rightly regarding the English and Scotch missions as among the most important under its jurisdiction, asked the minister general of the Capuchins to designate those of his brethren fittest by their talents, zeal and virtues to labor in that portion of the Lord's vineyard, then overrun and ravaged by the ravening wolves of heresy. Father Archangel was one of those selected. Gregory XV., having been told his history, directed that the brief imposing upon him this charge should be at once sent to Paris with the necessary powers. The Scotch friar recognized in this the mysterious designs of Providence in his and his family's regard, opening, as it did, a way which might lead to their conversion. Wishful of obeying without any delay the orders of his superiors, he sought some way of facilitating his entrance into England, an undertaking attended with enormous difficulties in those penal days when Catholics were so cruelly persecuted. He had the happy thought of addressing himself to Anne of Austria, who, though regretting the loss of so virtuous and wise a director, in whom she had long reposed the fullest confidence, promised to con-

⁷ Era il tempo in cui l'eloquenza sacra, non abbracciando piu tutti gli interessi della società, come nel medio evo, ma solo il dogma e la morale, vaneggiava per scolasticherie e stranezze anche in Francia: il tempo del Valladier, dei Besse, del Bosquier; pure Archangelo se ne tenne lontano, la sua eloquenza muoveva del cuore, e l'opera sua profitto alla corte. (Peignot: *Praedicatoriana*.) "Il Cappuccino Scozzese," III., 100.

sult the King and to aid him as best she could. Her woman's wit came to her aid and his. James I. was then maturing a design of uniting his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, sister of Philip III. The English King having consented to the conditions laid down by the Spanish court,⁸ the Spanish ambassador had arrived in Paris, and it was arranged that Father Archangel should accompany him as interpreter, suitably equipped at the Queen's expense. As permitted by the Papal brief, he laid aside for the occasion his Capuchin habit, and reassuming outwardly his rank as Count Leslie, donned the costume worn by seigneurs of the Court of France in the seventeenth century.⁹ In this attire he was presented to the Spanish envoy at a dinner given by the King of France in honor of the latter. The contemplated marriage raised high hopes of England's return to the Church. So, soon after his arrival in London, he gradually despatched the friars who accompanied him, disguised as members of his suite, to the various parts of the country they were to evangelize. After discharging his duties as interpreter during the day, he passed long hours at night in prayer begging God's blessing on his missionary work. In conversation with the Scotch lairds at court about the state of religion in his native country, he learned that his mother had become a more ardent Calvinist and that his stepbrother, Francis Forrey, was living on a property he had in the Highlands. The latter, apprised by letter of his coming into the kingdom, hastened, at his request, to London, where it was agreed that Francis should return to Scotland and that Father Archangel should rejoin him there as soon as his diplomatic mission was ended. The matrimonial negotiations having fallen through, the Spanish envoy urged George Leslie to go with him to Madrid, promising him, in the name of his royal master, an honorable position at court, but he declined, alleging that affairs of the greatest importance demanded his immediate presence in Scotland. Having taken leave of James I., who bestowed on him a handsome gift in recognition of his services, he sent a messenger to his brother to announce his departure. Clad in a coarse hair shirt, as his first biographer relates, he passed the night in prayer, celebrated Mass secretly at dawn the next morning, and, full of zeal and courage, mounted horse and set out for Scotland with two faithful servants, fervent Catholics whom he had converted from Protestantism.

At this point the narrative begins to take a somewhat romantic turn. Under the assumed name of Lord Frindgal, Father Archangel, still attired as a cavalier, visited the Baroness Forrey in her manor of Monymusk on the plea of having an important message

⁸ See "Dodd's Church History of England," T. V., pp. 115, 333.

⁹ "Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini," II., p. 408.

to deliver. He said he had come from England, after spending several years in France, where he had known her son, George Leslie, who filled the office of court preacher to Louis XIII., and had requested him to deliver to her a letter written by his own hand. This letter had a soothing effect upon the Baroness, and during his sojourn he succeeded in effacing from her mind the idea that her son had done anything unworthy of his birth and family in becoming a Capuchin, as that order was held in the highest esteem on the Continent, and the noblest in the land deemed it an honor to be received into it. He had been five days domiciled at Monymusk when his mother accidentally discovered the identity of the strange visitor, in whom she at last joyfully recognized the son whose absence she had long mourned.¹⁰ The disclosure evoked much rejoicing, not only in the manor, but in all the country round. The only one who did not share in the general joy was the Calvinist minister, who as chaplain was a salaried appendage of the household, and with whom later on, in his mother's presence and at her request, he held five controversial discussions, which afforded him the desired opportunity of paving the way to her conversion by a complete and lucid exposition of Catholic doctrine. The chaplain being silenced, confuted and confounded, she rose from her seat at the end and exclaimed: "Great God! is it possible I have so long lodged error in my house without knowing it, without even suspecting the truth?" The vanquished minister, realizing that his occupation was gone, speedily beat a retreat, leaving Father Archangel master of the situation. The Capuchin judiciously left his mother to her own reflections, did not importune her with religious controversy; but, seeing that her mind had been sufficiently enlightened to perceive error, left it to the operations of grace to pour in the larger light of faith which would enable her to see and grasp the whole truth. Her intellect, that outwork of the soul, had been captured; it remained to seize its citadel, the heart. The victory of grace was won when one day, as they were walking along a terrace overlooking the river Dee, both absorbed in thought, she broke the silence with these words, spoken with emotion, which must have sounded like sweet music in his ears: "My dear son, it has entered into the adorable designs of God that you should be the instrument of His mercy in the work of the regeneration of my soul. You are not unaware in what aversion I held the Church of Rome, with what hatred I pursued it. Who should know it better than you, since it is upon you chiefly have fallen

¹⁰ She overheard him remarking to a domestic the disappearance of a pigeon house over one of the doors, which had been removed thirty-five years before. A newcomer, after a five days' sojourn, could not know of this. It aroused her suspicions, and, on questioning him about it, he revealed himself to her in his true relationship.

heaviest the effects of that blind, implacable hatred? It was that which drove me to throw you upon the world in Paris, to strip you of your property, to repudiate you as my son. I thought I was justified when, like a cruel mother, I cursed the fruit of my womb. Now that I see the depths of my wickedness, now that divine grace has opened my eyes, so that I see clearly where before I was blind, I have no longer any hesitation in embracing that Roman faith which you teach. While my heart was steeled against you and I was trying to blot you out of my memory, you never ceased to think of me, to think of my soul, to pray and work for my salvation. I should be most ungrateful if I resisted grace any longer. I am ready to put myself, my dearest interests, the interests of my soul, in your hands; to place myself under your guidance, thus becoming the spiritual daughter of one of whom I am now the happy mother."

The conversion of the Scotch lady, hitherto known as a bigoted Calvinist, made a great impression and came as a great surprise to many. Intent on redeeming the time because the days were evil, and impatiently desirous of seeing all those around her embrace the Catholic faith, she zealously aided in the subsequent conversion of the other members of her family and her whole household; and as conversions multiplied, she constructed a domestic chapel in one of the donjons of the manor, where the Easter of 1623 was made glad by the reception of many converts, the first fruits of the zealous coöperation of mother and son, long separated, but now united in the same faith which had been the faith of their ancestors before the dark clouds of heresy had settled over that northern land.

Not content with accomplishing the conversion of his own family, the Scotch Capuchin, in company with his stepbrother, pursued a zealous propagandism in all the towns and villages round Aberdeen, penetrating into the most remote parts of the country under pretext of hunting or fishing excursions or antiquarian researches; making their way into cabins as well as castles and gathering the faithful together into some secret place, where he preached, baptized or offered the Holy Sacrifice. These journeys were sometimes made on foot, sometimes on horseback at all hours and in all weathers and involved great fatigue and labor and constant vigilance. This apostolate resulted in drawing a large number of heretics away from Calvinism, among the converts being members of the highest families in Scotland.¹¹ Forgetful of self and thinking only of the souls he wished to save, he led a more austere life than ever, fasting rigorously. He usually stayed at some friend's house, the owner of which assembled the Catholics and such heretics as evinced dispositions

¹¹ Including Lady Herries, three of the Maxwells, Lady Lockerby and Sir Robert Gordon, of Lochinvar, whom he assisted on his deathbed.

towards conversion, and there, reassuming his Capuchin habit, he preached, catechised, heard confessions and administered the sacraments.¹² Sometimes, when warned of danger and so as not to embarrass his host, he redonned his cavalier's costume and, with a sword by his side, mounted horse and rode off to some other place, continuing his missionary work. He declared later that in Scotland he converted more heretics with the sword by his side than with the crucifix in his hand. The success of his preaching and the increasing number of conversions reaching the ears of the Calvinists, alarmed the enemy, and the Protestants denounced him and his aiders and abettors to the government. An edict of the King enjoining every Catholic priest to quit the kingdom under pain of death was proclaimed with sound of trumpet in Aberdeen, while the same penalty, with confiscation of property, was imposed on any one who harbored a priest. In order that this edict might not remain a dead letter, the Protestants bribed several officials of the palace to excite the irritation of the weak-minded monarch by giving him to understand that if the conversions increased a change of religion might bring about a change of government.

On his return to Monymusk manor, the occupants of which had been thrown into a state of alarm by the proclamation, Father Archangel decided to seek refuge in England, where the persecution was not so severe, and from thence direct the Scotch mission. When the delay fixed by the royal edict had nearly expired he employed the last days in encouraging the converts. Early on the day of his departure, after hearing their confessions and celebrating Mass for the last time on the altar erected by the piety of his mother and sisters-in-law, he gave them Communion and addressed them in a touching discourse. Mother and son having mutually blessed each other, he took the road to London, accompanied by two servants. His object was to confer with the other missionaries on the means to be adopted in view of the edict of proscription and other penal measures which threatened the complete extinction of the Scotch mission. They unanimously resolved not to yield an inch of the vantage ground they had won by their labors, but to redouble their exertions to propagate the faith over a still wider area. After some days spent in prayer and retreat, Father Archangel, like a general about to give battle, assigned to each one his sphere of operations, reserving to himself the duty of supervision and direction and hold-

¹² Many powerful houses in the north, whose attachment to the ancient faith no amount of persecution could conquer, and whose doors were always open to receive and protect the outlawed missionaries, continued to labor for the preservation of the Catholic Church in Scotland. During the reign of James I. the Catholics in Scotland were numerous and influential, and scattered over every foot of the country. ("Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland," by James Walsh, *passim*.)

ing himself free to go to whatever place most needed his presence, wherever the combat was most painful and perilous. He soon returned to the Scotch border to be nearest to the field of action; and under his guidance the mission, despite penal laws, continued to progress and produce such fruits, such a harvest of souls rescued from heresy,¹³ that the enraged Calvinists became more and more embittered. Encouraged by letters from Monymusk which kept him well informed of all that was taking place in Scotland as well as by the help amply provided by his mother, he daily extended the Kingdom of God and achieved new victories over the Church's enemies.

Though dangers and difficulties increased in proportion as the persecution became hotter, he knew no fear. An intrepid soldier of the Church Militant, he had that virile courage, at once natural and supernatural, of which the psalmist speaks: "Though armies in camp should stand together against me, my heart shall not fail, for Thou art with me." It was courage of that heroic type which nerved the martyrs to brave tortures and death, which sustained the Apostles in the midst of perils and persecution, as in these days it sustains their successors, the missionaries in far off heathen lands, the outposts of the Church, whose broad boundaries they are extending by their self-sacrificing labors.

One day as he was riding across a lonely part of the country he suddenly perceived at a short distance a cloud of dust raised by a large troop of men on horseback. It was an Anglican Bishop who was making a visitation of his flock. Trusting in the protection of Providence, Father Archangel saluted the prelate, who returned his greeting. To his surprise, he discerned among the heretic's followers the chaplain whom he had caused to be dismissed from his mother's house and who had gone to England and taken service in the household of a Protestant Bishop. He pretended not to see him; but the latter recognized him and told the Bishop, who made his men halt and sent off twenty-five in pursuit of the Capuchin, ordering them to bring him back dead or alive. Father Archangel at once put spurs to his horse and rode at full speed to a neighboring wood, where he found a place of concealment. His servant, not so good a horseman, was arrested. In his precipitate flight Father Archangel dropped his valise, which contained his papers and the chalice he used for the celebration of Mass, a loss which deeply afflicted him. On reaching his destination the Calvinist closely questioned his prisoner about his master, but the servant, a good Catholic and devoted to the Capuchin, played the simpleton so suc-

¹³ He is said to have converted upwards of four thousand in and around Aberdeen in the course of eight months, and to have got the whole of that part of Scotland in a fair way towards a return to the ancient faith.

cessfully that they left him alone, thinking they could get nothing out of such an idiot. On discovering the father's papers, which contained a detailed refutation of their errors, the Calvinists burned them publicly, and at their next meal filled the chalice with wine and drank to the speedy extirpation of Popery!

To purify and perfect His servants God tries them in many ways. Among the perils through which St. Paul passed in the course of his apostolate he includes "perils from false brethren." It was the next trial which Father Archangel had to endure. Some days after the incident narrated he received a letter from the general informing him that Propaganda had been told that he was not following exactly the instructions he had received; that he was allowing himself too great liberty, and was leading an entirely worldly life in the midst of his family. Although, after testing the information, the Congregation recognized that the accusations were unfounded, his superior deemed it prudent that he should proceed to Rome, present his defense and obtain from the Holy See a declaration of his innocence. "You have sufficient courage," concluded the general, "to endure the inconveniences of this journey whe it is a question of safeguarding your honor and that of the order."

Before setting out for Paris, where, in the convent in the Rue Saint-Honoré, he reassumed his Capuchin habit, he apprised his mother, whose reply revealed to him that as she was now a sharer in the same faith she was also a sharer in the same cross, that mysterious mark which distinguishes elect souls. Shortly after his departure for France the manor of Monymusk had not been lost sight of by the government agents; she was accused of harboring and abetting priests and, her property being confiscated, the family were scattered.

They were days to try men's souls, days of civil and religious strife. The hot gossellers of the Kirk were opposing a strenuous resistance to episcopacy; but while Covenanters and Episcopalians were divided and waged war upon one another, they were united in one thing, and that was hatred of Catholicism. The Presbyterians, when they became masters of the situation and swayed the religious destinies of Scotland, boasted that they would carry the triumphant banner of the Covenant even to Rome. The French ambassador said to the King that the fate of the Scottish Catholics was still more deplorable than that of the Catholics of England. The pulpits of Aberdeen were thundering with denunciations of the hated Papists. In 1640, by command of the General Assembly, all memorials of the ancient worship still surviving in Aberdeen were ordered to be destroyed, and masons were set to work by these iconoclasts to destroy images of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin in

stone or stained glass and chisel out the Holy Name wherever they found it.

When Father Archangel's family were excommunicated by the Kirk and their estate seized by the government, his mother took refuge in a hovel or humble dwelling in Aberdeen, where she tried to support herself by spinning. "Thus, my dear son," she added, "God has made me undergo the treatment I formerly inflicted upon you. I recognize therein His sovereign justice, but at the same time His fatherly mercy, wherefore my soul overflows with joy. Yes, my heart is content; for I feel that the precious treasure I possess within me is none other than the treasure of grace. Know then, my son, in leading me to recognize and embrace the true religion, you have changed my heart, you have transformed it. I have only given you the life of the body and you, in enkindling in my soul divine love, have given me spiritual life in this world and the hope of the life of glory in eternity. Let us rejoice, then, since in possessing nothing more in this world, we gain the treasures of Paradise. Pray to God, ask Him to make me entirely poor in spirit and in heart, and to finish His work in giving me the grace of self-detachment and renunciation of my own will."

Father Archangel himself relates what ensued upon the reading of this letter. "As soon as I received this touching letter," he says, "filial love, the voice of nature at first struggled in my heart with the knowledge I had of real felicity which is not found in the fleeting goods of earth. Flesh and blood revolted within me at the thought of seeing this noble woman, to whom I owed my existence, reduced to such great need; but my reason, illumined by faith, soon led me to rejoice thereat and envy her lot. I felt completely covered with confusion, considering that after so many journeys and labors, I was still the same, while my mother, immediately after her conversion, had the heroic courage to sacrifice everything without any regret. I sought, however, to reconcile what nature claimed with what reason in some sort commanded. I resolved to do everything that, humanly speaking, was possible to help my family, leaving the rest in the hands of God. I repaired to the court where, thanks to the acquaintances I had made when preaching there, I obtained without delay an interview with the Queen, to whom I told what had happened to my mother. Her Majesty, touched by this great misfortune borne with such admirable resignation, wrote with her own hand to the King of England, Charles I., asking him earnestly not only to restore my family to the possession of their property, but also to grant them permission to freely practice Catholic worship. Very glad of the result of my move, I resumed my journey and reached Marseilles, where I was to embark for Italy, when I saw in the harbor a vessel

ready to set sail for Scotland. As the most reverend father general had not fixed any date for my arrival in Rome, and as I had left England without taking leave of my mother, it seemed to me that I would be doing a thing pleasing to God and useful to my Scotch mission if I availed of this favorable opportunity of announcing to my family that the Queen of France had interposed with the King of England, who would certainly not refuse her request. I then departed for Scotland, where I stopped with a faithful and discreet Catholic friend. I had no time to lose. I dyed my hair and beard and put on the traditional costume of the Scotch Highlander. Loading a barrow with vegetables of all kinds, I pushed it before me as far as Aberdeen, where I intended to find out my mother; for I was completely ignorant of her place of retreat. At the entrance into the town the guards made some difficulty and asked me where I was going. 'I'm going to sell my vegetables,' I said. One of them looked me full in the face, saying, 'You have more the look of a Papist than of a gardener!' I began to laugh and made a jest of him and his companions. They let me pass. I then traversed the streets and alleys, hawking my wares, attentively examining every house, always hoping that I would see my mother. A good part of the day was already spent, I had hardly any more goods to sell and I was beginning to despair when at a turning in the street a door opened and a voice well known to me cried out, 'Come here, gardener!' I turned round my head and remained for some moments motionless, seeing my mother poorly clad and obliged to buy her own provisions. Despite myself, tears fell from my eyes, and it was with great difficulty I concealed my emotion. I drew nigh, however, all of a tremble and looking carefully to every side to see if I wasn't watched. While my mother was treating with me about the price of my vegetables I looked at her attentively and said in a low voice: 'Madam, this gardener doesn't sell vegetables to his mother; he offers them to her very willingly!' Surprised, she raised her eyes and uttered a cry which sounded far down the street; but quickly realizing the danger, she signed to me to go into an adjacent lane, where there was a passage leading into her house. She immediately shut the door, and I pushed on my barrow, bawling out my goods after the manner of country gardeners. Seeing that no one made his appearance, I glided furtively into the lane, and from thence into the house and found myself in my mother's arms. After the first moments of emotion, she told me in all their details the events that had reduced to the misery in which I saw her. She spoke to me long of her joys and consolations since, destitute of everything, she saw herself more conformed to the Divine Crucified One. I thanked and blessed the Lord from the bottom of my heart for having granted

my mother the precious grace of resignation to His adorable will; I was enraptured at the way she spoke. However, time was slipping away and I was going to inquire about the fate of my brothers and sisters-in-law and tell her of the hopes I grounded on the letters of the Queen of France to Charles I., when suddenly the door was violently thrown open and gave entrance to four constables. My mother recognized them and had only time to say: 'Courage, my son; we are lost!' I was first seized with dread, but recovering myself and saluting my mother, I made as if I was about leaving. One of the constables stopped me and said: 'We have come to visit your lodging, madam, and to see if you haven't concealed here some Papist priest. And you,' he added, turning to me, 'what are you doing here?' 'You see what I'm doing,' I said; 'I'm selling salad.' 'It isn't in houses,' he replied severely and brutally, 'but in the street that you should ply your business; don't you know that you are here with a rabid Papist who is very suspected? . . . You seem to me to be a spy!' And looking me from head to foot, he hesitated, like a man who did not know what decision to come to. Then he exclaimed: 'Come! I order you to clear out this very instant, and be careful; we'll keep a close eye on you.' My mother motioned to me to bend before the storm and I withdrew with a swelling heart. Realizing that it would be impossible for me to see her again without exposing her to some danger, before the King had restored her to the possession of her property and given her permission to practice the Catholic religion, I offered my sacrifice to God and the next day embarked for France."

After leaving Scotland, never more to see his native country again, fearing that his abrupt departure might be misinterpreted by the converts and produce a bad effect on them, he felt it his duty to write to a gentleman of proved zeal, Colonel Sempill, in the following strain:

"I propose to shortly publish a work, in which I shall explain my manner of dealing with heretics and the methods I employed in Scotland during the last six years (1623-1629) for the conversion of souls. I shall dedicate this work to His Holiness the Pope; such at least is the advice which most of those who, fleeing from the evils of persecution in our country, have taken refuge in France have given me. During my sojourn in Scotland I have written three other treatises—two on 'The Vocation of Ministers of the Gospel' and the third in reply to a book entitled 'Reasons for Which a Lady Became a Protestant.' These treatises have already done much good and led a large number of persons to embrace the Catholic faith; several learned persons are of opinion that they ought to be published and that I cannot dedicate them to a person worthier than

yourself, whose zeal for the conversion of souls and devoted love for the ministers of our holy religion are well known. I have only one single object in offering you the dedication of these works; it is to recognize your tender piety and charity in my regard and in regard of other missionaries who have devoted themselves to the conversion of heretics in our country. As it would be very painful to me to see these treatises remain useless, fruits of my vigils and fatigues in these perilous times, I venture to request you to continue the assistance you have been pleased to give me when I was in the mission by helping me to pay the cost of printing; for if you help me, I intend to publish them in Venice when I shall be in Italy. I am forced to go to Italy for two reasons: first, because the administration of our mission is entirely changed; second, because I have to justify myself to the Congregation of Propaganda against the calumnies affecting me addressed to it. Many Catholic gentlemen and ladies, who have fled from persecution and left our country to take refuge in this land of France, can attest the falsity of those accusations, and besides the large number of conversions which God has deigned to operate through my ministry suffices to demonstrate their falsity. Here are some of these conversions: I converted my mother, my brothers and all my family; Lord Alexander Leslie of Affort, his wife and sons; Lord Regower, an old man of eighty; Baron Kilkardi and his wife; Baron Picalpte; Baron Cluny Gordon, whose infuriated father sought to slay me; three noble families in the mountains of Badenoch; Lord Brunthil Hays, who was standard bearer when Count Errol commanded the advance guard at the battle of Glenlivet against the Earl of Argyll; finally, Lord Littlehill-Leith. On the other hand, I have also led to the true faith, at Angus, the eldest son of Viscount Oliphant and one of his nephews; the two daughters-in-law of the Baroness Monargan, who herself died eight days afterwards, fortified by the reception of the sacraments of our holy religion; in the town of Fowlis, two noble families. In Southern Scotland, Viscountess Herries, the Baroness Locharby and three gentlemen named Maxwell; Baron Lochinvar, who at the peril of my life I brought back to good sentiments and who died in my arms. In the west, a noble family, the two sons of the Earl of Abercorn and several of the people of his household; at Edinburgh, Baron Ridhall-Hamilton and another gentleman, with his wife. I stop here, but I could quote a large number of other persons; for, thanks be to God, of whom I was only the instrument, there is not a single part of the kingdom where I have not sown and caused to germinate the seed of the true faith. These few persons whom I have mentioned are perfectly well known to all Scotland and to my friends. Now, who are my accusers? Let them tell; let them

specify the conversions they have made, and one will see if there is reason to draw a comparison. But enough of such a disagreeable subject, of which it is painful to me to treat. As to the persecution in Scotland, it continues and daily increases, to the great detriment of religion and of souls. It is mournful to see the number of Catholics who, hunted out of their country, arrive in France, where Christian charity seems dead, where their misery is insulted in place of being succored. I am writing this letter without any attempt at eloquence, because I am addressing myself to the common father of all the wretched whose days I beg the Lord to multiply." The letter is subscribed, "F. Archangel Leslie, Capuchin. 30 January, 1630."¹⁴

War and pestilence were raging in Italy when Father Archangel reached it. Ferdinand II. of Austria had revived the claims of the Empire over Rome and to the acquisition of Urbino, and German bands, chiefly composed of the dregs of those soldiers of fortune who were recruited by Condottieri, little better than armed brigands, who fought for the sake of pillage, and who were mostly Lutherans, had descended upon Lombardy by the Valtetina and besieged and sacked Mantua. The affrighted populations fled to the mountains at the approach of these lawless and ruthless freebooters. To crown the calamities which these hordes brought in their train, they left behind them a terrible plague which ravaged Lombardy and the neighboring provinces. Readers of Manzoni's "Promessi Sposi" will recall the graphic picture the Italian novelist draws of the plague of Mantua when popular fury condemned to atrocious punishments the alleged propagators, designated *untori*, because it was said they anointed the walls and doors of houses with poisonous matter which had the effect of spreading the malady. The populace were so carried away by this insane idea that religious, although they devoted themselves zealously to the care of the plague-stricken, fell under suspicion and were forbidden for a time to leave their convents.

It was at this conjuncture that Father Archangel arrived in Italy in April, 1630. What he had to suffer may easily be imagined. Obligated to keep clear of the cities, the gates of which were shut against any stranger through dread of contagion, he had to follow by-roads, always on the watch, passing the nights in the mountains and desert places, exposed to a thousand dangers, particularly to outrage at the hands of an unbridled soldiery. However, thanks to the passport of the King of France, he was enabled to traverse the territory of Venice and reached Ferrara, completely exhausted and hardly able to drag his legs after him. Subject to the approval of

¹⁴ Apud Colon Leslie, "Historical Records of the Family of Leslie," T. 3, III., 420-46. Edinburgh, 1869.

his superiors, he made a vow to devote himself exclusively to the service of the plague-stricken and wrote to the general, who extolled his submission and generous zeal and assigned him to the convent at Cremona, telling him that there was no need to go to Rome, as Propaganda had recognized and proclaimed his innocence.

Cremona was like a city of the dead or a vast charnel house when he entered it. The effects of the contagion were terrible. Most of the survivors were compelled to leave the part of the city first stricken with the plague; solitude reigned wherever the Angel of Death had passed. In the quarters still inhabited every door was closed through suspicion and terror, except those houses from whence the occupants had fled. Some were condemned because the people within were suffering from the fatal malady; others were marked with a black cross, to notify to the *monatti* that there were corpses to be removed. Infected furniture or garments were flung out through the windows. Here lay the body of some unfortunate creature, suddenly death-stricken in the street, awaiting removal by the passing van on its rounds; there, bodies which had fallen off the overloaded car. Neither the sounds of labor nor of vehicle, the cries of street dealers or the steps of foot passengers were heard. The silence of death was rarely interrupted except by the rumbling of funeral cars, the whines of mendicants, the groans of the sick, the screams of people driven mad, or the vociferations of the *monatti*. At daybreak, at noon and at nightfall the tolling of the cathedral bell summoned the people to the recital of the prayers prescribed by the Bishop, the tolling being repeated by the bells of forty-three other churches and numerous convents. Then persons were seen to make their appearance at every window and pray in common; then was heard a confused murmur of words and groans. Most of those whom Father Archangel met carried in one hand a staff and sometimes a pistol to warn off any one who would approach them, and in the other scented pastilles or metal or wooden bowls containing sponges steeped in prepared vinegar, the perfume of which they inhaled from time to time.

The scourge had not spared the Capuchin convent, where almost all the friars, after zealously tending the sick, were stricken with the malady and those who nursed them were so exhausted that they were in as much need of being cared for. Father Archangel took no rest and was, by turns, confessor, cook and infirmarian, burying the dead with his own hands in the convent cemetery, so that those who had spent their lives in the service of God and their neighbor might be interred with befitting ceremony and not thrown pellmell, without religious rites, into the common grave in which other victims of the plague were flung. His zeal did not stop there. During his

free moments he traversed the streets, seeking out miseries to solace and souls to be shriven, or went to some lazaret-house to help his Capuchin brethren who had charge of it and enable them to take some needed rest. He often said he had been in the presence of death a thousand times, and did not know how or why it spared him. Speaking of the deaths of religious whom he had administered, he said: "I blush with shame that after closing the eyes of so many holy personages, I have not yet opened mine, and have not yet learned to live well."

After the cessation of the pestilence he was made guardian of Monte Giorgio, where, as already noted, he became acquainted with Rinuccini and afterwards of Ripatransone. Before going to Monte Giorgio he went to Rome. Urban VIII. not only proclaimed his innocence, but affirmed it in a formal decree.¹⁵

Persecution having become more widespread and severe in Great Britain, the Pope, at the beginning of 1634, manifested to the superiors of the Capuchin Order his wish that Father Archangel should be sent back to Scotland to direct the mission there. Mgr. Rinuccini tells how he received these welcome tidings. "Eight days after my return to Fermo," relates the Archbishop, "Father Archangel, urged by a heavenly inspiration, and remembering the promises he had made me, went to visit the chapel of Our Lady of Lete. He felt full of extraordinary consolation, as if he expected to receive in that blessed sanctuary some precious and particular grace. That very day I got into a carriage to drive towards the sea. On reaching the chapel I saw him prostrate on his knees before the image of the Madonna. His face and eyes shone with a supernatural light. As I approached him he rose and said: 'Monsignor, I knew well that this august sovereign of the sea had in reserve for me some voyage! I've just received here, a few moments ago, these letters, which I beg you to read.' At the same time opening them, I observed the seal of the most reverend father general. He wrote to him that the Sovereign Pontiff, having established a new mission for the Kingdom of England and Scotland, had nominated him companion of Father Epiphanius, likewise a Scot, and that he was to hold himself in readiness to undertake these new labors, in which he might feel assured that the divine blessing would not be wanting to him, since the benediction of the Vicar of Jesus Christ was given to him on earth." Having quoted the decree, signed by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Camerlengo, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. and then Prefect of Propaganda, Rinuccini proceeds: "After taking note of these documents, I embraced Father Archangel and gave expression to all the gladness I felt at his happiness. 'I rejoice,' I

¹⁵ Bull. Ord. VII., 331. Decree dated Rome, April 12, 163.

said to him, 'that this mission is beginning in this place, consecrated to the service of the Blessed Virgin and situated in my diocese, which will derive great glory from it.' Then, drawing the happy missionary aside and taking him by the hand, I added: 'The moment has come, father, to make known to you the designs with which God one day inspired me in this very place; I wish to confide the secret to your prudence. If the light of faith should one day beam on England, the Queen of Heaven has imparted to me the wish to be of the number of those who will labor in this great work, and recently I promised it here before her august image. Moreover, in order that this resolution should be sanctified by obedience, I communicated it to the Sovereign Pontiff, who alone can control my conduct. I tell you, in all truth, it would be the height of my happiness if I could employ to this end the humble talents which God has given me, to thus gain eternity and ennoble my blood by shedding it all for the glory of Jesus Christ. What can I wish for? What can I hope for in this miserable life? What can I do more profitable to my soul than to go to those distant countries in search of lost sheep? I sigh when I consider the woes of England and Scotland; I regard with compassion that isle, formerly called the Isle of Saints, and which a century of stupid errors has wrenched from the Church, thus rendering its seamless garment. Ah! how happily I would die if it were given to me to repiece, were it only a small part of it! Who knows if you will not be my precursor? Perhaps it is not without a dispensation of Providence you have received your order to proceed in this blessed place, where I myself conceived the design of going. Pray, keep this secret from men; but please remember it continually before God, to commend it to Him in your prayers. I implore Him who is leading you to now grant me this grace, that in embracing the best of my friends I am embracing a future companion on that beautiful mission of England and Scotland.' Astounded at first at this communication, the father soon gave vent to his holy joy, and, turning towards Mary's image, said: 'O, Mother of Divine Grace, I humbly beg you to accept and bless these holy desires, formed under your maternal and merciful protection! Ah! good Mother, may these desires be soon changed into reality for the greater glory of your Divine Son Jesus Christ!' Then, turning to me, he added: 'Monsignor, as soon as I arrive in Scotland I shall strive to rekindle in all hearts the ardent flames of charity in order that our new Catholics, praying with greater fervor, should in some way do violence to God that He may grant you the grace you so ardently desire. On your part, deign to remember me and recommend me, as well as my mission, to the prayers of your diocesans. I am going to leave you, Monsignor, but we shall meet again in this holy place at the feet of

the Madonna. In whatever place I may be, I shall always be here in spirit. I take as my guide this powerful Queen of the sea; by day and night she will be the star that will show me the rocks and make me steer clear of them.' I took leave of him, promising to go to the convent on the day of his departure. He smilingly replied that he was leaving that very day for Rome to receive his instructions. I was much surprised and at the same time full of admiration at such prompt obedience and marvelous detachment. Casting a last glance at the Madonna, he embraced me warmly and we separated."

After breaking the journey at Loreto, to venerate for the last time the Santa Casa and before the image of Our Lady to offer himself anew as a victim for the conversion particularly of Scotch heretics, he proceeded to Rome, from whence, after a brief sojourn, he went to Livorno, from which port he was to embark for Marseilles.

In a letter to the Archbishop of Fermo, written before he left Livorno, he says: "I am returning once more to those dangers in Scotland I have so often faced; is it not to be crushed by them at last? May the most holy and most adorable will of the Lord be done! The vigor of my constitution and my bodily strength are, alas! declining in proportion as my labors are becoming more numerous and more difficult! The years that are accumulating over my head seem to make my soul's ardor grow old also. Nevertheless, Monsignor, it would crown my desires if, winning again new souls for Christ, it was given to me to give up mine to my Creator in the arms of my good and loving mother; for, I confess to you, it would not be repugnant to me to see the order of nature inverted. What does it matter dying soon if, closing my eyes to the miseries of this world, I have the happiness of opening them to contemplate the beauties of the heavenly Jerusalem? However it may be, Monsignor, I have full confidence that this journey will turn out according to your wishes. We are going to those kingdoms of England and Scotland to sow therein the fertile seed of the Catholic faith in the hope that one day you may come to gather the abundant fruits. Who knows but by a secret judgment of the Providence of God, those countries, now plunged in darkness, will see it dispelled, and, like the Magi Kings, that you will be one of the first to be attracted by the rays of the dawning light? It is what I ask of God from the bottom of my heart. Have the kindness, Monsignor, to tell the Rev. Father Pica and all my friends that they ought not to fail to thank the Lord for the great grace He has granted me in recalling me to my country to labor therein anew for the salvation of my fellow-countrymen. It is to me such a great happiness that in hearing at this moment the whistling of the boatswains announcing that it is time to embark, I seem to hear a heavenly harmony. Give your

blessing, Monsignor, to the least of your servants, who bids you *au revoir*, if not in this world, at least in Paradise."

After hearing from some fellow-Scotsmen in Paris the doleful death a thousand times, and did not know how or why it spared him. news that the persecution in Scotland daily increased, that Catholics were imprisoned or banished the country and their property confiscated and that the few priests who ventured to remain were hunted like wild beasts, he had an audience of Anne of Austria, and at her pressing instance preached before the court on the vanity of human grandeur and wealth.

In the disguise of merchants traveling on business he and Father Epiphanius¹⁶ sailed from Calais in an English vessel, but were caught in a dreadful storm. The rudder was carried away, the masts pulled down and, to lighten the ship, they threw the cargo overboard. The terrified sailors talked of nothing less than making the passengers follow the cargo; they lost head and would listen to no orders from the captain, a Catholic, who, to gain time, proposed to cast lots to determine who should be the victims, if such a sacrifice became necessary. Dreading death, some one asked if the two missionaries should not take their chance, but was overruled, considering the loss it might be to the mission in England and Scotland and the account they would have to render to God if, through any fault of theirs, any evil befell the missionaries. Father Archangel energetically protested against their exemption and demanded to throw in their lot with the others, which was agreed to. Suddenly a dreadful shock was felt. A loud despairing cry was raised. The two missionaries promptly placed themselves at the prow to exhort the crew to contrition and be prepared to give them the last absolution, Father Archangel exclaiming: "Holy Virgin, star of the sea, succor us! And you who are on the point of perishing, throw yourselves with confidence into her arms!"

The vessel had parted in two! The forward portion, upon which were the missionaries and a number of English passengers, got wedged between two rocks some distance from the shore. They were miraculously saved. The stern end was carried out to sea, in which all the rest found death and a grave.

¹⁶ Roger Lindsay, son of Count Lindsay, who when he was a student in the Scots College, Louvain, became a Capuchin, and, after a long, laborious and eventful career, died in 1644, at the age of eighty-six. He was the oldest of the Scotch missionaries. Disguised as a shepherd, he wandered over the whole of Scotland, playing on a flute or some other musical instrument to gather the country folk about him and speak to them of religion. He converted many, and was denounced by the Presbyterian preachers as their greatest and most dangerous enemy, to whom no quarter should be given. See "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," by James Walsh, p. 449.

It was near nightfall. The storm had passed, the dark clouds dispersed, and thousands of stars shone brilliantly in the clear sky. The shipwrecked, exhausted from fatigue and emotion, after fervently thanking God for their rescue, sheltered themselves under some débris of the wreck. Father Archangel, awaking after some hours' rest, suddenly perceived a large case in which he had packed the sacred vessels and other altar requisites; and, deeply touched by this new mark of God's ever watchful providence, threw himself on his knees and uttered aloud a prayer of thanksgiving. His voice awakened his companions, who, attentively reconnoitering their position, found that they were on a small island off the south coast of England. It was the Isle of Wight.

Always intent on the work to which he had devoted his life, he found an opportunity of exercising his ministry immediately after landing, and effected the conversion of two of his fellow-passengers, two English gentlemen, while they were making their way through a dense wood to the nearest village. Pursuing his route northwards and assuming the name of Selvian,¹⁷ he accidentally fell in with one of his stepbrothers. First meeting as strangers, they discovered each other's identity in the course of a conversation, from which he gleaned that his mother, shortly after she had had her property restored to her by the King, ended by a saintly death a life in which her faith and constancy had been severely tried and bravely stood the test. He had come to the Isle of Wight to see the King, to beg him to continue to the family the protection he had afforded their mother and permission to have a priest to officiate for the household. The Mayor of Newport, imagining the three travelers, the two Capuchins and young Forrey, were spies, had them arrested and imprisoned in separate cells, where they were put in irons. The King sent for them on his return from a hunt, and having made themselves and their mission known—Charles I. recognizing in the pseudo-merchant the former interpreter to the Spanish envoy—promised to accede to their petition and extended to them the hospitality of the royal residence during their sojourn, admitting them daily to his table and sending them away with an autographed passport and letters confirmatory of the privileges granted to Father Archangel's family. A few days afterwards they embarked for Aberdeen, whence they directed their steps to Monymusk, where in the domestic chapel they gathered together the remnant of the flock of converts who had remained faithful. While Father Epiphanius

¹⁷ In memory of his mother, née Jean Sylvia Wood.

¹⁸ Walsh ("Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland," p. 449) says 4,000. The "Franciscan Annals," T. V., are quoted as authority for the above estimate. Both figures suggest exaggeration, but it is quite safe to assume that the conversions he effected were very considerable.

selected the Highlands as the sphere of his missionary labors, Father Archangel employed his zeal where he was best known and wielded most influence, assisted therein by his three brothers. In about eight months his converts, according to some, numbered three thousand.¹⁸

It was a perilous ministry. Once, after receiving on his death-bed, in Edinburgh, the abjuration of an old Scotch nobleman, the Calvinists, furious at such a striking conversion, broke into the house after the friar's departure, and, failing to find him or to force the dying man to retract his abjuration, stabbed the latter and then massacred his son, a lad of sixteen, who proclaimed himself a Catholic.¹⁹ Seeing the gaps made in their congregations and their prestige and authority gradually diminishing, the Protestants sent a delegate to London to apprise and alarm the King, upon whose fears he artfully played, saying that if more drastic measures were not taken to stop the spread of Popery, Scotland would rise and, aided from abroad, seek to separate from the Crown of England. The King sent a messenger to Aberdeen commanding, within a month, the presence of George Leslie and his brothers in London to answer for the disloyalty imputed to them.

The next day, after saying Mass for the last time at Monymusk, Father Archangel, accompanied by his brothers, who had received Communion at his hands, started on their journey, traveling by night so that he might devote the day to visiting and encouraging the Catholics and effecting conversions. The annals note that at no period of his work were his labors so successful as during the last few days he spent in Scotland.²⁰

The day, however, was far spent, and the shades of night—the night when man can work no longer—were falling. Like a soldier dying on the battlefield, he fell, never more to rise, in the very exercise of his sacred ministry. At Torfechan, a town on the Scotch border, he was seized with a violent fever. After several times renewing his religious vows and receiving with great fervor the last sacraments from Father Andrew, a Jesuit, who happened to be in the neighborhood, he calmly expired. It was in the year 1637. Charles I., to whom he had written in his last illness, expressing his regret that he could not continue his journey to London to clear himself of the false accusations of the Calvinists, simultaneously with the receipt of his letter received the news of his death. He was very moved and expressed to his courtiers his grief at the loss of such a distinguished man, sending a messenger with a missive to the Forreys dispensing them, under the circumstances, of the obligation of appearing at court and assuring them of his good-will in the future. Father Andrew had the remains removed at night to the mansion of a Catholic, whence, the obsequies having been

secretly celebrated in an improvised mortuary chapel, they were conveyed for interment to a mountain said to have been haunted by evil spirits and which none dared approach, a belief it was considered would safeguard his grave from heretical profanation. There, awaiting the resurrection, lies the last count of the elder branch of the House of Leslie, the Capuchin friar, Father Archangel, the Scotch Apostle.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

SOME three hundred and seventy years ago a King of England, disappointed of the sanction for his illicit passion which he had tried to wrest from the Vicar of Christ, severed himself and his kingdom from the unity of Christendom. There are people who still imagine that in some extraordinary way the provinces of Canterbury and York obtained "freedom" by this action of the royal adulterer, and that the position of a so-called "national church" involves deliverance from galling fetters that bind the one Church in union with the Holy See. The remedy for this delusion is, simply, the intelligent study of the history of such attempts to improve upon the Divine government of the Church. What, e. g., of Christian liberty is to be found in the administration of the "Orthodox Church" of Russia, ruled by a "Holy Synod" whose procurator and despotic ruler is a layman, soldier or civilian, as the case may be, nominated by the Czar? And, to come nearer home, what liberty of belief or action was secured for the Anglican Establishment set up by Henry VIII., who, as the learned Protestant Bishop Stubbs truly says,* "wished to be, with regard to the Church of England, the Pope, the whole Pope and something more than Pope?" The fact that as long as Henry lived there was no further break with Catholic belief than his terrible act of schism involved does not in the least alter the matter. It had been laid down as the basal principle of the new establishment that the authority of the King was to be held supreme and, in fact, infallible in all that concerned the religion of the country. Henry had been his people's supreme guide in faith and morals when he imposed the "Six Articles" no less than when he defied

¹⁹ "Francis. Annals," T. V., p. 162. "Storia delle miss. dei Cap.," T. II., p. 416.

²⁰ "Francis. Annals," T. V., p. 190.

* "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," p. 262.

and abjured the authority of the successor of St. Peter; his son Edward was equally their supreme guide when he denied and made it penal to adhere to the Six Articles of Henry. Has it ever struck an Erastian Protestant that, on the same grounds, the restoration of the faith by Queen Mary was equally an act of royal infallibility? What is denied to her can scarcely be logically conceded to her illegitimate sister, who succeeded her on the throne. Yet it is what some writers absurdly call "The Elizabethan Settlement" that Anglicans are living under to this day. As Lord Macaulay expressed it in his "Essay on Hallam," "The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset [in the name of Edward VI.], the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest." Now, though the regal power is a mere shadow of its former self, the position claimed by Henry and his children is the position claimed by the State to-day. The omnipotence of the Crown has been exchanged for the omnipotence of Parliament, the supremacy of the King for that of his chief minister.

For the last two generations the Anglican Church has been in the throes of a controversy that sooner or later must issue in some great catastrophe. I have heard an English clergyman of high standing, trusted by his Bishop and fellow-ministers, say boldly the sooner the better. On the one hand there has been the bad old Tudor tradition, hugged by a large and sometimes dominant party as if it were the very charter of the English constitution, with a blindness so incredible as to seem almost judicial; on the other, the Catholic principle, however feebly understood and mistakenly applied, of spiritual rule in spiritual things. Of course, there can be no question as to which is the more consonant with the Christian faith and with the most elementary principles of reason. But the other principle, the Tudor Cæsarism, whether exercised by King, minister or Parliament, is, alas! the foundation on which the whole Anglican schism rests and in the application of which Anglican history finds its meaning. The sympathies, not only of Catholics, but of all who believe in the supernatural origin of religion, must be on the side of the men who hold the conviction that the Church (however they may understand the expression) has a life and authority not derived from, and therefore independent of, any civil government. But it is impossible on any fair view of the history of the English Establishment not to recognize, with whatever regret, that historically the Erastians have the best of the argument. The Erastian conception is absolutely, eternally, uncompromisingly anti-Christian in its very root; but it is the conception which has for more than three centuries and a half ruled the destinies of Anglican-

ism, and against which all the noblest souls within her borders have struggled almost in vain.

The recent letter to his clergy of the Archbishop of Canterbury on their conduct with reference to the act for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister is an outstanding example of the supremacy of the State over Anglican consciences in a matter of the very highest moment. Dr. Randall Davidson, after exhausting all his eloquence in denunciation of the bill when it was before the House of Lords, after declaring his conviction of the evil of the proposed measure and defending to the utmost the Anglican principle on which such a union is declared contrary to Divine law, sends his clergy and people a letter which proclaims in the strongest and strangest way (however little His Grace may intend this) the absolute subserviency of his Church to the civil power. In that letter he condemns the celebration of such marriages in church; he distinctly holds that the canons of 1603, enforcing the Table of Affinity which forbids them as against the Divine prohibition, are yet in force, and yet if any clergyman should celebrate such a marriage His Grace will "in no way regard him as disloyal or disrespectful." And he goes on to lay down that those who have contracted such marriages, and are, consequently, living in a union which the Anglican Church declares to be no marriage at all, are not to be debarred from "the ordinary privileges and ministrations of the Church—*i. e.*, while living in sin (according to the Anglican theory), they are to be able to claim successfully Anglican absolution and communion!

A Wiltshire clergyman, who some years ago made his submission to the Holy See, relates in a most interesting book published after his conversion, that his Bishop—Dr. Moberly, of Salisbury, an excellent and in many ways Catholic-minded Protestant prelate—once said to him that he could conceive of an Anglican Bishop having to resign his see for conscience sake, but he believed it would never be possible, while the Establishment remained, for a Bishop to refuse to carry out any demand of the State and yet retain his position. So iron and so enduring is the tyranny which the guilty hands of Tudor despotism forged for English souls so long ago! It is curious that while freedom has advanced by leaps and bounds in the secular domain, men should have endured in religious things so vile an exploiting of their consciences and trampling on their inalienable rights. Truly, when the English convocations bowed to the will of the tyrant and accepted him as "Supreme Head of the Church" they sowed the wind which their children for more than twelve generations have reaped in a roaring tempest that has shattered faith in millions of souls and spread misery and disaster untold throughout

a land once marked by special loyalty to the See of Peter and whose glorious title was "Our Lady's Dower."

During the last few days an incident has arisen in an English diocese that brings out into unhappy relief the condition of the State-bound Church and the appalling chaos that reigns within her. The present Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campell-Bannerman, a nominal Presbyterian, who knows as much about Anglicanism as he does about the Catholic faith, nominated to the Bishopric of Newcastle Dr. Straton, Bishop of Sodor and Man, a gentleman whom the leading Edinburgh newspaper admirably describes as "the leader of what is called the Erastian and Orange party in the Church of England," and who, the same paper goes on to say, "was treated as dangerous by Lord Salisbury and was, therefore, cooped up in the See of Sodor and Man." To the dismay of the Premier's best political followers and of Anglicans generally, Dr. Straton let it be known on his coming into his new diocese that he intended to rule it on the lines of the utterly discredited Privy Council decisions of thirty and forty years ago. A *casus belli* between him and his clergy has quickly arisen. A Mr. Jackson, who is described as an excellent, hard-working clergyman who has won the regard and love of his people, and who had been encouraged and supported by Dr. Lloyd, the late Bishop, has met with extraordinary treatment on the part of the newly appointed prelate. The just completed buildings of the "mission of the Holy Ghost," which Mr. Jackson serves, have been refused episcopal license. The Bishop instructed Mr. Jackson to attend at the cathedral, and there delivered an admonition ordering the clergyman to discontinue the use of wafer bread, a tabernacle for reservation, a crucifix and the Stations of the Cross. Whether these things are suitable furniture for an Anglican church or consistent with the spirit and history of that communion is a question to which most Catholics will easily resolve for themselves, but there is no question as to their acceptance by a large minority and their practical toleration by the Anglican Bishops. However, if Mr. Jackson's case had been dealt with as a single episode the matter might have blown over, whatever opinion the diocese might conceive of the good sense and justice of its episcopal ruler. Dr. Straton, however, took the opportunity of fulminating a decree (to use the expression of the article from which I have already quoted) to the whole of his diocese. In this pronouncement, the spirit of which carries us back to the palmy days of the "Victorian Persecution," he lays down the principle that Privy Council law is to run in the Diocese of Newcastle as the law of the Anglican Church. The clergy of the city have taken up the challenge with alacrity; nineteen out of twenty-four beneficed clergy have presented a remonstrance

to His Lordship, which, as described by one of them, "declares neither sympathy nor want of sympathy with Mr. Jackson; but it does protest against the revival of persecution or even government according to the judgments of the Privy Council." It is to be remarked that Newcastle is not, like some large towns, by any means "advanced" in the character of its ecclesiastical leaders; even the few churches that might be considered as more or less "extreme" in ornaments or services would simply provoke no comment in the south of England or in some Yorkshire or Lancashire towns. The indignation of the Newcastle clergy has been aroused because of the reckless attempt of their new Bishop to enforce a system which was tried with disastrous results a generation ago, and only escaped bringing about a catastrophe in the English Establishment because it fizzled out in a dismal failure. The espionage, suborned witness and abominable cruelty that marked the attempt only brought lasting discredit on the persecutors and the cause they represented.

It is useful to remember, as is pointed out by Dr. Straton's opponents, that Lord Brougham, no friend to any religious society, admitted that it was by a legislative accident that the judicial committee of the Privy Council became vested with jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes; that the judgments Dr. Straton is attempting to enforce have by common consent remained inoperative for many years; that a recent Royal Commission declared them to be without moral authority and incapable of enforcement, and that Dr. Stubbs, late Bishop of Oxford, one of the most learned of Anglican clergymen and a "broad" churchman, described them as "a foul thing." To this may be added the fact that the late Chief Baron Pollock described one of the most notorious of these deliverances (the "Ridsdale judgment") as a judgment not of law, but of policy. Dr. Straton is asked why he does not propose to enforce the statute of Charles II. against Sunday trading; the statutes compelling attendance at church and the punishment of the stocks for the drunk and disorderly. What can be the outcome of the present quarrel is not easy to decide; but we may be certain it will not end as His Lordship desires, and that he will not find his rule the easier for the hopeless lack of statesmanship and of common sense that he has shown.

The Newcastle clergy, and Mr. Jackson in particular, must command the sympathy of all reasonable men. They have been taken by surprise, in the sense that an appointment has been made to their Bishopric which the good sense and statecraft of such Ministers as Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury and even Mr. Arthur Balfour would have rendered impossible and even unthinkable in the days when they reigned in Downing street. Anglican Bishops, clergy

and laity, of all parties but the irreconcilable Puritan faction, have called a truce from persecution for the last twenty years. They may well feel it intolerable that a gentleman of no particular weight or outstanding ability has attempted to reverse the accepted position of affairs. Who is he, they may reasonably ask, that he should destroy the tradition established by Dr. Lightfoot, of learned and pious memory, and sustained by Dr. Wilberforce, Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Lloyd—none of them “advanced” men in the slightest degree?

But for Catholics—and surely, too, for Anglicans, if they would face the situation in the light of history and hard fact—there is a lesson of supreme importance in the *impasse* that has arisen in the city on the Tyne. The genesis of the whole trouble is not to be found in the unwisdom of Dr. Straton, or even in the ineptitude of the Prime Minister. The unfortunate quarrel is, so to speak, one blast, and not by a long way the most serious, of that whirlwind the Anglican Church is ever reaping, because the tyrant Henry and the apostate Cranmer, Somerset, Elizabeth, Walsingham and their abettors sowed the wind many generations ago. Cæsar planted his iron heel on the Church of Christ, swept her away from the land that she had civilized, and trained, and united in her obedience, and on the ruin of the ancient worship set up a new altar of his own devising, above which the royal arms should henceforth displace the crucifix. Until that time there was freedom for the Church—the liberty demanded for the *Ecclesia Anglicana* under the Great Charter—because she was recognized as in truth an *imperium in imperio*, a part of a world-wide empire; behind her was the might of the whole Divine Kingdom and the supreme authority of the Vicar of Christ. The position of the new establishment, founded by Henry VIII. and restored by Elizabeth, was in a totally different position. It is true that during Henry’s lifetime the Catholic faith, except on the fundamental question of the authority of the Pope, was preserved, as well as all the sacraments, while under his son and daughter heresy in its most hydra-headed form was imposed on the royal Church, and priesthood and sacraments were irretrievably lost. But from 1536 onwards, except for six brief years of restored Catholic life, the principle was the same—the royal authority the source of jurisdiction, the arbiter of doctrine, the fountain of ecclesiastical as well as civil law; the Church reduced to a mere department of the State, her officers ministers in that department and as such deriving all their right to execute their office (and, indeed, that office itself) from the supreme civil power; no appeal from the narrow bounds of a small provincial establishment to the general consensus of the Church in all the world, or from the caprice and tyranny of King or Parliament to the strong, unchanging justice of the Chair of Peter.

The miserable, inherent weakness of a so-called "National Church" would be apparent to every thinking man if long custom had not blinded his eyes to obvious facts. Of course, if there is no such thing as revealed truth; if one religion is as good as another; if a church is merely a moral magistracy or a school of philosophical thought, it cannot much matter what the State does or does not do. But, given the truth of the Christian religion, and the fact that Christ founded a society for its guardianship and propagation (and to hold one without the other is logically impossible), the hopelessness of a State governed church needs no demonstration.

For every one who believes at all in the truth and the fact just stated, the position of the Church to the civil power can only be one of honorable alliance or of absolute independence. The first was Christian Europe's way of deciding the matter for twelve hundred years, from Constantine to the time of the great apostasy, and all Catholics know it to be the right adjustment of the relations between the two powers. But now, when once Christian States are *officially* Christian no longer, the Church can claim nothing less than absolute independence in her own sphere. She endeavors everywhere to maintain such friendly relations with the civil government as are possible under the circumstances; she trains her children to be good and loyal servants and soldiers of that government; she teaches lessons of such true patriotism as can be learnt in no other school. But, on the spiritual side, she is independent of Emperor, King, President or Parliament. The boundaries of the empire, kingdom or republic are not her frontiers. The faithful of all lands are fellow-subjects beneath her loving sway.

Is it too much to hope that many members of the Anglican Church may find in the present chaotic state of things in their communion the occasion of looking more profoundly into that radical evil which is the source of all their troubles? The best and most devout amongst them, and there are indeed many such, are always hoping and working for the spiritual independence of their Church. They make no secret of their detestation of the catastrophe of the sixteenth century and of the methods by which it was brought about. They look forward to a "reunion of Christendom" which shall restore them to all lost grace and privilege. And how much they have had and still have to suffer for their convictions! They are, indeed, reaping the whirlwind, but they would have had no part (so they honestly believe) in that disastrous sowing which has brought about their unrest and trouble. There are few things in life harder (as some of us know by pitiless experience) than to relinquish a hope held fast, in the face of overwhelming odds, for many years. But until that first act of rebellion is repented and disowned, there cannot

be spiritual freedom, or restoration to forfeited privilege, or unity with the mystical Body of Christ. Anglicanism cannot liberate itself from the original sin of its existence until an act of submission undoes that first revolt. And, as a body, is there any prospect that this will ever be made?

Extreme cases like that of Dr. Straton, of Newcastle, are now phenomenal, but the root evil is as vigorous as ever. The recent Royal Commission, the findings of which the majority, if not all, of the English Bishops desire and are endeavoring to make the rule of their dioceses, is essentially an exercise of the same power that forbade appeals to Rome and arrogated to itself the title "Supreme Head of the Church." The point is not whether the Commissioners' report was good or bad, fair or unfair, practical or the reverse, but that a Royal Commission should sit on the internal affairs of the Church at all. An outsider might naturally ask if the Bishops and the Houses of Convocation could not arrange such matters as came before the Commission. But as a matter of fact, they could not, on their own initiative. An Anglican Bishop is in no real sense a ruler of his diocese; he has no power behind him but that of the civil government. And the Convocations—in theory the Sacred Synods of the provinces of Canterbury and York—cannot meet except by the gracious permission of the State nor frame any canon except under "letters of business" from the Crown. Nor can any canonical enactment have force in law unless it has received the assent of a Parliament largely composed of Jews, secularists and Protestant Nonconformists! Cæsar takes good care that the synods of the Established Church should be no more than dignified debating societies.

In the face of all this it is vain to dream of spiritual freedom. Even if disestablishment, as seems not unlikely, were to become a fact before many more Parliaments have met, the Anglican Church would still be bound by the evil traditions of little less than four centuries, and would still have no appeal beyond her own small limits. For those who have escaped from it, Anglicanism compared with the wide international life of the Catholic Church is like a stifling room in comparison with the free air and open sky of the far-stretching moorland. To change the metaphor and return to that which has been the keynote of this article may we not hope that the tempest of trouble, and disquiet, and opposition to their highest ideals and most strenuous effort may lead some at least into the shelter of the true home of souls and the joy of her abiding liberty?

J. FABER SCHOLFIELD.

England.

THE STORY OF A PAPAL ENVOY DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR.

THERE are few epochs in history more fruitful in tragic surprises, pathetic incidents and unforeseen developments than the French Revolution, that social and religious upheaval from the effects of which modern France is still suffering. Like all momentous periods, it presents to the student of history an almost inexhaustible fund of dramatic episodes, where the extremes of human heroism and human ferocity stand out in strong relief.

One of the most curious of these episodes was brought to light unexpectedly not long ago. Its hero is no less a personage than a French priest who, during the Reign of Terror, filled the responsible position of Papal Nuncio in Paris. So little indeed was his story known that few people were aware how, during those years of bloodshed and anarchy, the common Father of Christendom continued to keep officially in touch with the eldest daughter of the Church. Still less did they imagine that there lived in Paris, under the very shadow of the "guillotine," a priest who was the authorized representative of the Holy See. So miserable was the condition of this ambassador, so deadly the danger to which he was exposed, that when weighty religious matters had to be discussed between him and his fellow-priests the thickets of the Bois de Boulogne served as his council chamber!

The way in which this most dramatic tale, told by its hero, became known to the public is in keeping with the strangeness of the story itself.

A well-known French priest, l'Abbé Bridier, was staying at the Sulpicians' house in Rome when a lawyer, acting on behalf of a noble family whose name has not been revealed, put into his hands three small manuscript volumes, carefully written and bound. These, he was informed, were the memoirs of Mgr. de Salamon, a prelate who became, after the restoration of the Bourbons, Bishop of St. Flour, and who, during the Revolution, filled the post of Papal Nuncio in France. They were written by the prelate at the request of a French lady, Madame de Villeneuve, but were not intended for publication. This particular manuscript copy, duly signed and authenticated by Mgr. de Salamon, was his gift to some members of an Italian family, whose descendants, having experienced severe reverses, were now willing to part with it for a certain sum.

M. Bridier's curiosity was thoroughly roused. He set to work and easily pieced together the story of this most authentic but hitherto forgotten Papal envoy. He was able, with the help of other documents, to satisfy himself that the volumes were absolutely gen-

uine and, having become their happy possessor, he made them public, and thereby created no small sensation in the literary world. The fact that these memoirs were written for private circulation adds to their interest, but it seems almost strange to us who live at a time when publicity is the order of the day, that neither Mgr. de Salamon nor Madame de Villeneuve should have sought to publish them; so it was, however. The prelate was willing to oblige a friend, but he had no ambition to "pose" as an historical personage, and we know as a fact that on one occasion, when he was in dire poverty, he refused to sell his memoirs. Hence it is that the reminiscences are very human.

Mgr. de Salamon, who at the time of the Revolution was a young man just over thirty, here reveals himself as he really was, with his faults and his virtues. His individuality is an interesting one, but is by no means heroic. He frankly owns that he had no thirst for martyrdom, but he was resigned to the will of God, and, taking him altogether, he seems to have been a conscientious, kind-hearted man, faithful to his friends, grateful to those who helped him, anxious to fulfill his duty towards the Holy See, whose official representative he found himself in moments of extreme difficulty. He takes no trouble to conceal from us that he was fond of good living, and even in the most tragic passages of his life the sight of a fat turkey as of a warm cup of chocolate appealed to him strongly. At the same time he keenly appreciated in others the heroisms in which he knew himself to be deficient, and his love of comfort did not prevent him from being good humored and full of resource when he literally had neither a roof to his head nor a crust of bread to allay his hunger.

Louis de Salamon was born at Carpentras, near Avignon, in 1760, and was therefore by birth a subject of the Popes, to whom Avignon belonged till the French Revolution. He was, owing to a special dispensation, ordained a priest at the age of twenty-two, and towards 1784 he was appointed to fill a legal position in the Paris Parliament, where in those days certain offices were held by ecclesiastics. Both on account of his family connections and of his being a Papal subject young Abbé de Salamon was well known to Pope Pius VI. In 1790 the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Dugnani, left Paris. The head of one of the King's guards had been thrown into his carriage, and he promptly decided to quit a city where anarchy reigned supreme. M. de Salamon had been in the habit of writing to Cardinal Zelada, the Pope's Prime Minister, for the last four or five years. Thus it happened that when it became necessary for the Holy See to choose a new representative in France, its choice fell on the active young priest, whose tact, discretion, powers of observation and prudence fitted him for so responsible a position.

On account of the disturbed state of the kingdom his embassy was a secret one and was surrounded by none of the pomp and ceremony that usually mark the mission of a Papal legate. He was in truth the authorized envoy of the Sovereign Pontiff, but he had no official position or title, and his mission was fraught with more danger than glory.

One of his chief duties was to keep the Pope informed of the religious persecution that, from the outset, marked the policy of the government; the endeavors of the revolutionary leaders to separate the French clergy from the Holy See made it of the utmost importance that the Pope should keep in touch with the harassed Bishops and priests, and through our abbé he was able to receive accurate information on the subject.

Pius VI. seems to have had a special affection for M. de Salamon, who certainly possessed the art of making friends both high and low, and Cardinal Zelada often alludes to the Pope's affectionate solicitude for the safety of his envoy, as well as to the delight with which both he and his minister perused the abbé's long and vivid descriptions of men and things, where a humorous touch or quaint remark often relieves the tragic tale.

These letters are now in the archives of the Vatican. A French writer, the Vte. de Richemont, has published them in a volume that forms a most interesting contribution to the momentous history of the French Church during the Revolution. M. de Salamon seems to have been a capital correspondent. "You are, monsieur, an admirable correspondent," writes Cardinal Zelada; and he adds: "I do not read your letters; I devour them." With the letters the abbé was accustomed to send a quantity of pamphlets, engravings and even caricatures. He seems to have made his letters amusing as well as deeply interesting, and did not disdain to enliven them with anecdotes, intended, he owns, "to make His Holiness laugh."

In order to gather information he was obliged to see men of all sorts and kinds, and before he became an outlaw he used to disguise himself in order to mix more freely with the people in the streets, and thus ascertain the drift of public opinion. One of his first duties was to visit the unfortunate King, who was virtually a prisoner in his own palace, and to whom he expressed the Holy Father's concern and sympathy. But in August, 1792, the royal family was removed from the Tuileries to the Temple, and shortly afterwards M. de Salamon was arrested, together with many other priests.

His faithful housekeeper, Mme. Blanchet, who had served his mother during thirty years, followed him weeping to the prison door. By her presence of mind this humble friend was eventually able to

save her master's life, and she plays a prominent part in his memoirs. She could neither read nor write, but the abbé tells us much about her good cooking, a certain "potage Borghese," in which Blanchet surpassed herself, helped him through the hardships of his prison life, and he enlarges still more on her absolute and fearless devotion. This was, later on, handsomely recognized by Pope Pius VI., who sent the faithful soul a generous present.

M. de Salamon had no illusions as to the danger that threatened him. The policy of the National Assembly, in whose hands lay the destinies of France, was from the outset distinctly anti-religious, and since the beginning of August, 1792, all the priests who refused to take a certain oath called the "Constitution civile du clergé" were liable to be imprisoned. The oath was contrary to the obedience due to the Pope, and was in consequence schismatical and unlawful. To the honor of the French clergy, the priests who consented to take it were the exception, and the chief prisons of Paris, l'Abbaye, la Force, les Carmes, were now filled with faithful confessors willing to risk their lives rather than put their conscience in peril. Over these devoted men hung the shadow of a hideous death.

On the day that followed M. de Salamon's arrest Blanchet was allowed to speak to him through a closed door. "Monsieur, monsieur," she cried, "what can I do for you?" "Go and make my chocolate," was the reply, "and bring it to me with some peaches and a bottle of lemonade." The chocolate was soon forthcoming.

"I was as faithful to the habit of taking my chocolate every morning as to that of reciting my breviary," owns the abbé, with a touch of "naïveté" that redeems his remark from irreverence. A little later a basket came, full of excellent eatables daintily packed by the faithful housekeeper, and M. de Salamon's good heart got the better of his comfort loving instincts. He immediately divided his provisions with a poor priest whose pitiable condition had attracted his attention, and his guest's voracious appetite speedily made away with more than half of the contents of the basket.

Soon, however, graver thoughts absorbed our abbé's mind. On September 1, 1792, he and his fellow-captives were transferred to the prison "de l'Abbaye," and Blanchet, who kept hovering around the place, brought her master evil tidings. "Oh, monsieur," said the good soul, "when this morning I went to the market to buy your peaches I heard that all the priests are to be killed." And on the abbé's answer that in this case she might take possession of his furniture, "What do I care for the things that are in your house if I lose you?" cried the old woman.

The Nuncio's description of his fellow-prisoners has a touch of intense reality. The greater number were priests, but with them

were a few soldiers, servants and tradespeople, and, standing far above the rest on account of his quiet courage, was an old priest eighty years of age, the "curé" of St. Jean en Grevè. "He was a holy man," says M. de Salamon; "bright, gay and even jovial, a living proof that God prefers a piety that does not exclude gaiety to a severe exterior that seems to censure others." Sometimes the old man's stories were so droll that "I laughed till I was ill," adds the Nuncio.

At l'Abbaye the "curé" of "St. Jean en Grevè" revealed the depth of heroism that lay concealed under his humorous moods. The 2d of September, the day appointed for the massacre of the priests who filled the Paris prisons, was a Sunday, but in their hurry, terror and distress the prisoners of the "Abbaye" seem to have overlooked this fact. "Messieurs," said the old curé, "it is Sunday; we shall be allowed neither to say nor to assist at Mass. Let us therefore kneel down during the time that Mass would last and pray." Then, when a few hours later news was brought that the massacre had begun at the neighboring prison "des Carmes," the priests, who were huddled together in the long, low room at the "Abbaye," knew that their turn would come shortly. They threw themselves on their knees before the curé of "St. Jean en Grevè," who, after bidding them recite the confiteor and the acts of faith, hope and charity, gave them absolution "in articulo mortis." Then, turning to M. de Salamon, the old man added: "I am a great sinner. Will you, monsieur, who represent the Vicar of Our Lord, give me absolution?" And kneeling down before our young abbé he bowed his white head to receive the grace he had given to others. The old curé continued to lead the prayers. He said the litanies, then the prayers for the dying, and at the words, "Go forth, thou Christian soul," all the priests, says our abbé, wept.

A little later, M. de Salamon having somewhat impatiently complained of the credulity and childishness of some of his fellow-prisoners, "Helas! monsieur, you are right," said the old curé, "but when you are my age you will be more indulgent towards human weakness."

When that same night the curé of St. Jean appeared before the mock tribunal by whom the priests were made over to the paid assassins who were waiting outside, his courage did not flinch. He was asked if he had taken the schismatical oath required of all priests. "No," he said calmly, "I have not taken it." Then and there he was hacked to pieces under the eyes of M. de Salamon. "Oh, great saint, happy old man," whispered the latter. "Thou art in heaven; pray for me. Grant that I may die with the calmness, gentleness and resignation that thou hast shown." Nevertheless,

M. de Salamon owns that, although he was determined to die rather than take the schismatical oath, a secret feeling told him that with patience and presence of mind he might still save himself. He "naïvely" confesses that the heroism of some of his companions astounded him. A young Franciscan who was not a priest literally thirsted for martyrdom. "Oh, monsieur," he said, "I do not look upon it as a misfortune to die for the faith. I am, on the contrary, afraid that, not being a priest, I may not be killed."

When the same monk appeared before the so-called Judges a dispute arose. His youth excited the interest of some of the bystanders, who tried to save him; but the more bloodthirsty party carried the day and he, too, was murdered. M. de Salamon marveled at the unconscious heroism of this mere boy. "His words," he says, "made me blush, and I was ashamed to see these noble and elevated feelings in one so young while I felt so differently."

Nevertheless, when his turn came the Papal envoy carried himself bravely. It was a tragic scene. A handful of ruffians of the lowest condition were grouped together behind a table; others, blood-stained, red-handed and armed to the teeth, stood in the doorway ready to despatch the prisoners whom their comrades, the so-called Judges, had condemned to death. The darkness outside, the oaths of the assassins, the pale faces and trembling forms of the victims who stood waiting for their sentence made up a ghastly picture.

It was nearly daylight when M. de Salamon was questioned. His object was to avoid the fatal question, "Have you taken the oath?" which had he answered in the negative, as he was resolved to do, must have sealed his fate. Cleverly enough, he assumed the offensive, and without waiting to be spoken to he put forward his profession as a lawyer, kept silence on his ecclesiastical character, spoke boldly and fluently in his own defense and quoted, somewhat at haphazard, the names of well-known Revolutionists who, he said, were his friends and protectors.

In the end, either because they were weary of their bloody work or because the abbé's defense impressed them favorably, the so-called Judges commanded that he should be taken back to prison until further information should be forthcoming concerning him.

It might be but a momentary reprieve, but at any rate for the time being M. de Salamon was safe. The tension of those long hours of agony had been too great. "I felt no joy," he writes; "on the contrary, I felt so depressed . . . that I burst into tears."

While her master was too much overcome by the remembrance of past horrors to enjoy a feeling of comparative safety, the faithful Blanchet was seeking for him high and low. From all she could hear, she at last became convinced that he had perished during the

fatal night of the 2d of September with hundreds of other priests; but she determined to find his body. With extraordinary courage the poor woman sallied forth into the bloodstained streets and patiently examined the dead bodies that were lying in heaps at the prison door. After bending over more than a hundred corpses that lay outside the prison, she began to hope that her master had escaped, and turned her attention to the best means of saving him. Just then an influential revolutionary chief happened to pass down the street. Blanchet ran after him, threw herself at his feet. "Oh, sir," she cried, "give me back my master, the best of men, to whom my child and I owe our daily bread."

Strangely enough, the republican was moved. He consented to interfere on M. de Salamon's behalf, and, thanks to the bold activity of his old servant, our hero was set free. One of the last sights that he witnessed on leaving the prison was the brutal murder of l'Abbé Leufant, a well-known preacher. "I was very glad to be saved," says M. de Salamon, "yet I own that I envied his lot and that I began to wish for so heroic an end!"

The Nuncio's first thought after his escape was to write a full account of the massacres in Paris to Pope Pius VI., who in reply sent him an affectionate letter expressing the utmost concern for his personal safety. It was accompanied by an official document, drawn up by Cardinal Zelada, the Pope's Minister, by which M. de Salamon was appointed "Vicar Apostolic" for France, where the Revolution had, for the time being, swept away all traces of ecclesiastical hierarchy. Madame Blanchet, who by her presence of mind had saved not only her master's life, but also the most important documents in his possession, was not forgotten by the Pope, and received a present of three thousand francs.

Although he was out of prison, our hero's position was far from secure, and during the winter and spring of 1793-1794 he led the life of an outlaw. His priestly character, if discovered, was enough to make him lose his head on the scaffold. Moreover, he had been a member of the Paris Parliament, and forty-nine of his colleagues perished on this account. His name had been brought forward at their trial and a search instituted to discover his whereabouts. Not only, therefore, did his life hang on a thread, but the very fact of giving him an asylum was enough to bring destruction on his hosts. To add to his difficulties, Blanchet was arrested and imprisoned in the convent of the English Augustinians of the Rue "des fossés St. Victor," which, like all the large buildings in Paris, had been turned into a prison, and where she remained till the fall of Robespierre put an end to the Reign of Terror. M. de Salamon now exerted himself on behalf of his devoted housekeeper. He was a marked

man, and had he endeavored to visit Blanchet would have uselessly compromised her; but he contrived to send her sugar, coffee and two hundred francs in money. One of his messengers was a noble lady, the Duchesse de Saulx, who, dressed as a servant, succeeded in forcing her way into the prison where the faithful housekeeper was detained.

The Reign of Terror was then at its height. The guillotine was in permanent use, and during the space of eighteen months from twenty to forty persons—men, women and even children—were daily executed. The houses of rich and poor alike were liable to be searched at any hour of the day or night. It was impossible to leave Paris without producing a card testifying that the bearer was a "patriot." In fact, humanly speaking, it seemed impossible that a marked man like M. de Salamon should in the long run escape discovery.

Our abbé had many friends who bravely risked their lives in order to befriend him, and his good temper, unfailing presence of mind and considerate ways evidently made their task easier. A widowed lady, Madame Dellebart, who lived with her daughter, an ex-nun, won his lasting gratitude by her kindness; but one day he heard that the house was watched, and fearing both for himself and for his hostess, he left it.

He tells us how he found himself, an outlaw and an outcast, wandering along the banks of the Seine towards the Bois de Boulogne, then a thick wood where the Kings of France were accustomed to hunt, and which was very different from the parklike "Bois" of to-day, with its brilliant flower beds, its "cafés," its cyclists, its motor cars and general aspect of gaiety and refined civilization. In the depths of the wood, towards Auteuil, then a country village, he found an empty shed, where, having made himself a bed of grass and straw, he lay down to sleep. The next day he discovered another more convenient shelter further on, close, he tells us, to the fairylike villa of Bagatelle, built by a royal prince for a wager, and which still stands untouched in its eighteenth century elegance above the plain of Longchamps.

For some time he continued to sleep in one or other of these places. In the daytime he generally walked into Paris, chiefly, be it said to his credit, with the object of claiming the letters that he continued to receive from Rome. These were conveyed to him through many roundabout ways and were left either at a certain baker's, where M. de Salamon or his friends called for them, or with a poor old woman called Marianne, who lived in a miserable room in the very heart of Paris. The letters were couched in mysterious language to provide against what might happen if they fell into the hands of

the police. M. de Salamon generally signed himself Giuseppe Evangelisti, and Cardinal Zelada "Blanchet" or "Eysseri," the first, adds the Nuncio, being the name of "my poor, good servant," the second that "of one of my Italian grandmothers." "In this way," he continues, "thanks to the goodness of God, my correspondence with Rome was never interrupted even during the Reign of Terror."

Sometimes, instead of going to Paris, the outlaw wandered through the villages beyond the Bois—St. Cloud or Meudon—where he could buy food without exciting curiosity. He occasionally made new friends. Once in the woods of Meudon he saw a man who was picking grass. The two began to talk, and M. de Salamon became convinced that his new acquaintance was, like himself, a fugitive. By degrees they grew confidential, and he learnt that the unknown was a canon of Ste. Geneviève named Joli. "I live like the wandering Jew," he owned. "I spend the day in the wood picking grass and I only eat once a day when I go back to Passy, where I have a room. I am beginning," he added, "to get used to the life." M. de Salamon, who never forgot that he was the Pope's representative, tells us that his new friend, a man of culture, "treated him with much respect," and that through him he was able to give to several other priests the dispensations and permissions of which they were in need. He thus became acquainted with a vicar general of Châlons, M. le Moyné, and with another priest named Girard. With these two and M. Joli he formed a little council. "I was entrusted," he tells us, "by Pope Pius VI. with the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. Having in my hands the fullness of his power, I felt a great need of advice, and since then I have always been glad that I gave my confidence to these gentlemen, who were men of good judgment."

This "council" met in the thickets of the Bois de Boulogne or at the neighboring woods of Meudon. The passers-by who may have noticed these four miserably clad, unkempt, disreputable looking men, who clearly shrunk from notice, probably regarded them with well justified suspicion. They little thought that one of them was the representative of the highest power in Christendom, and that between them were being discussed vital questions that touched upon the eternal interests of souls!

Through the Abbé Girard, one of his three "councillors," M. de Salamon ended by taking a small room at Passy, then an outlying village, where he was safer than in Paris. His hostess, Madame Grandin, an avaricious and hot-tempered woman, made him pay a large sum for a wretched garret, in which he only slept, as he continued to spend his days in the neighboring wood. He owns that,

having been fed on potatoes for months, he once felt a great wish to taste some good "soupe." Blanchet's "potage Borghèse" was a thing of the past. He therefore decided to buy a portable stove and a saucepan, both of which were easy to carry. He also bought some vegetables from the women of Passy, and being thus provided with all that he needed, he made his way to a lonely spot in the Bois, where he lit his stove and cooked his vegetables. "My soup," he adds, "cost very little and was excellent." A little later he became bolder. "I bought a tiny bottle for oil in coarse ware to make salad, of which I am very fond. I keep it preciously still. These things remind me of my past hardships and distress. They also prove how little is necessary to keep a man alive."

M. de Salamon's character stands revealed to us in these incidents of his wandering life. He was neither, as we have observed, a hero nor a martyr, but, take him all in all, he was a conscientious, upright man, gifted with a spirit of enterprise and resource that in circumstances of peculiar difficulty and danger was perhaps of more practical use to him than sublimer aspirations might have been. His love for "a good cup of chocolate" and his longing for a "good soup" seem, after all, very venial weaknesses when we remember the long months of privations, during which his good temper never failed. No less harmless is the naïve, childlike satisfaction that he expresses at being the representative of the Holy See, a satisfaction that was dearly bought by the extra danger it entailed upon the holder of so perilous a responsibility.

The fall of Robespierre, at the end of July, 1794, put an end to the worst excesses of the Reign of Terror, though years were to elapse before peace and liberty were restored to the Church in France.

M. de Salamon, whose buoyant spirits had been quenched by the execution of forty members of the Paris Parliament, his colleagues and his friends, revived when he heard that the tyrant had perished, and he immediately set to work to obtain his housekeeper's release. His efforts were successful, and one day in a pathway of the Bois de Boulogne, between Passy and Auteuil, who should he meet but Blanchet in person, "so pale and so thin that he hardly recognized her." The poor soul's only son had died in the hospital during her imprisonment, but Blanchet's private sorrows paled before her devotion to her master, and her first thought on coming out of prison was to seek him in the "Bois," where he spent most of his time. With the simplicity of blind trust she walked up and down the wood until she met him; but when at last she found herself face to face with him, the sense of his danger overpowered her. Fearing to compromise him, she hardly dared speak, but she silently held out for his

acceptance three hundred francs that she had earned in prison by acting as washerwoman to the great ladies who were detained with her.

M. de Salamon promptly reassured her. The worst days of the Revolution were over. The Reign of Terror ended when Robespierre fell, and though under the government of the "Directoire" our abbé was again imprisoned, his most exciting adventures were now things of the past.

Blanchet lived long enough to share her beloved master's second imprisonment, which was the result of the political difficulties that arose between the French Government and the Court of Rome; but she died soon afterwards, and M. de Salamon enlarges on the last illness and death of this humble friend.

"I was not able," he says, "to save her life, as she had saved mine, but I have the comfort of feeling that I made use of every human means to prolong it." And his devotion to Blanchet seems, in truth, to have been that of a son. The poor woman clung to him, and only from his hand would she accept the remedies that the doctor prescribed. After nursing her with unremitting attention during many months, it was he who, when the end came, recited the last prayers by her side until her faithful heart ceased to beat. To the last Blanchet was forgetful of self. In order to spare her beloved master's feelings she never mentioned her approaching death to him, but to the priest who visited her and to the lawyer who drew up her will she spoke of it freely, and she impressed upon the latter that, her only child being now dead, all she possessed was to be made over to her master, whom she loved as her own son.

M. de Salamon continued to serve the Church in happier and more peaceful circumstances. The arrival of Mgr. Caprara, who in 1801 was appointed Papal legate in France, put an end to his diplomatic duties, but at different times he was charged with missions concerning ecclesiastical matters, and in 1804 he was made Bishop in partibus of Orthozia. He spent several years in Rome, and it was probably then that he gave his Italian friends the precious volumes so unexpectedly brought to light. In 1820 he was appointed to the See of St. Flour. Although over sixty, he was still full of activity and enterprise, and his reign in his mountainous diocese is still remembered. He showed great zeal in advancing the higher education of the clergy, which had been unavoidably neglected in consequence of the upheaval of 1792.

He established ecclesiastical schools and seminaries, and all his private fortune was expended on these important foundations. He seems to have been particularly generous towards clerical students who had not sufficient means to pursue their studies. Mgr. de

Salamon died on June 11, 1829, and, according to his express desire, was buried like a beggar in a common grave.

Thus closed, in humility and in precious works of charity, a life that had been marked by experiences so varied, so strange, so completely unknown to the general public until a happy stroke of fate placed the abbé's memoirs into the able hands of his countryman, M. Bridier. Few Papal envoys served the Church amid circumstances so difficult and dangerous. M. de Salamon played his part with a conscientiousness that fully justified Pius VI.'s partiality for one whom he playfully called "My little Jacobin," in allusion to his revolutionary surroundings.

The memoirs so unexpectedly unearthed by M. Bridier and the letters published by the Vte. de Richemont have a peculiar interest at an epoch when the Church of France is again going through a phase of severe trial. The ordeal of 1908 resembles in some respects that of 1792; the object of the men in power is the same now as it was then—to destroy religion—but the means they employ are different. The final result of the crisis will, however, be identical—after suffering poverty and persecution, if not exile and death, the twentieth century French priests, like their eighteenth century predecessors, will come out of the battle ennobled and braced by the sacrifices they have been called upon to make. The Church, invincible, will pursue her course, while her persecutors are laid low. Does she not hold in her hands a Divine promise of final victory? With this she can afford to wait for God's appointed hour.

When the young "Vicar Apostolic" of revolutionary France was wandering a homeless outlaw through the mazes of the Bois de Boulogne, religion seemed hopelessly crushed. Churches were closed and the faithful priests who survived the massacres were in prison, in hiding or in exile. A few years later the scene had changed; the desecrated churches reopened their doors, Bishops and priests were at their posts, slowly but surely the havoc wrought by the great tempest was being repaired. History, as we all know, repeats itself; the experiences of the past contain now, as they have always done, the promises of the future.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWMAN.

NEWMAN has been described by the *Irish Theological Quarterly* as the greatest theologian of the nineteenth century. And, on the other hand, the Modernists pay him the compliment of recognizing in his their most invulnerable opponent. The franker and more outspoken members of the school attack his views, and the dishonest ones even mistranslate him into French in order to give currency to their own views under the authority of his great name. We stand at a long distance now from the days when but for the steady support of Cardinal Cullen and of the Irish College in Rome he might have been involved in serious trouble.

It is not of his theology proper, however, that we wish here to treat, but rather of his philosophy. In the technical sense of that word, indeed, he never set himself to construct a system in the way in which Aristotle, or St. Thomas, or Locke, or Descartes, or Hegel, or Coleridge is said to have a philosophy. It is rather with Plato or St. Augustine that Newman's way should be compared. He does not affect the form of metaphysical science; he is a man of letters, a poet by temperament, a preacher by vocation; his methods are literary, and his subject-matter is religion and morals, not the *totum scibile*. He addresses himself not to the speculative understanding, but to the heart and the moral reason; and if he could convince a man against his will, he would not value the triumph. For he contends not for victory, nor even for abstract truth, but for the salvation of souls. Though his philosophy is nowhere formally and systematically expounded, he has one, however; every great thinker has. A view of man and the world in relation to God, and of man's relation to the universe in which he moves is something which every man that is in earnest must have, however implicit and latent it may be. Newman's has to be pieced together from his different works; but it is worth while to take that trouble. The impression which prevails in some quarters that he was ignorant of the philosophers is chiefly due to his own humility and modesty and to the loftiness of the standard by which he judged himself. Gifford used to tell that once in speaking of Dr. Johnson's knowledge of Greek to Jacob Bryant, the antiquary, he said: "But Dr. Johnson himself admitted that he was not a good Greek scholar." "It would not be easy, sir," replied Bryant, "for you or me to say what Dr. Johnson would have called a *good Greek scholar*." When we read a man's statements about himself we must first inquire what level he expects himself or others to attain to; and I have heard one of our Bishops say that

he could have kissed Newman's feet, such reverence did he feel for Newman's combination of humility with genius. In fact, Newman writes with intelligence and accuracy concerning all of the British philosophers whom he names; and these are the most of them. His "Essay on Assent" was directed against Hume and (though in a less degree) against Locke.

One of the first questions asked about any great man in these days is, What is his political philosophy? Secular politics Newman had none; his interests were religious, and practical politics he did not profess to understand; his practical politics consisted, during the period of Mr. Gladstone's ascendancy, in confidence in that statesman, whose religious temper he considered to be a guarantee against the adoption of any policy injurious to religion. Purcell, in his "Life of Manning," among his many blunders, asserted that Newman withdrew his confidence from Gladstone when that statesman adopted the policy of Irish Home Rule. The best answer to such a falsehood may be given in words written by Newman to Gladstone after that event: "I have known and admired you so long, . . . and I hope you will take my blessing, which I give from my heart."¹ In fact, Newman's sympathy for the Irish was clear enough; and he held as firmly as any man that government should be paternal. In one of his university essays, written in 1854, he speaks of the old conservative party of that day, led by Lord Derby, with contempt, as a party caring nothing for the welfare of the common people. His good wishes went to the reforming conservatives, who called themselves "Peelites," of whom the most famous is Gladstone; who were mostly "Anglo-Catholic" in religion and progressive in their policy; and he continued to trust them even after they joined the "Liberal" party (and it was they who infused into it some genuine liberality). In his principles, however, Newman was a Conservative. He undoubtedly held high ideas of loyalty and obedience to authority in civil society as well as in the Church. Thus he says in the last part of his history of his religious opinions:² "In reading ecclesiastical history, [even] when I was an Anglican, it used to be forcibly brought home to me how the initial error of what afterwards became heresy was the urging forward some truth against the prohibition of authority at an unseasonable time. There is a time for everything, and many a man desires . . . the fuller development of a doctrine, . . . but forgets to ask himself whether the time has come. . . . He may seem to the world to be nothing else than a bold champion for the truth and a martyr for free opinion, when he is just one of those persons whom competent

¹ November 6, 1888, Morley's "Gladstone," ii., 547. See also iii., 388.

² "Apologia," ch. v. (p. 259 in edition of 1887).

authority ought to silence. Yet its act will go down to posterity as a tyrannical interference with private judgment, . . . while, on the other hand, the said authority may be accidentally supported by a violent ultra party which exalts opinions into dogmas and has it principally at heart to destroy every school of thought but its own." And as regards civil society, he held that the "Liberal party was infected with theological liberalism; that its principles, spirit and tendency were hostile to dogmatic Christianity, and of course to Catholicism as the most dogmatic form of Christianity. That tendency was not permanently altered because the "Liberal" party sometimes needed the Catholic vote, or because "Liberals" believed that Catholics if well treated would grow indifferent and imbibe liberalism, or because Mr. Gladstone and his High-Church followers infused for a time into the Liberal party some respect for Catholicism and kept the Puritan wing of that party under control. Allies are not always friends; and why should Catholics be grateful to Non-conformists for hating the Anglican Church because it retains some remnants of Catholicism, or for helping to disestablish Episcopalianism in Ireland? The true spirit and character of parties is seen when an education bill is opposed by the Irish Nationalists and the English Conservatives and supported by the Irish Tories; or when, a few years ago, a Liberal government tried to set up, at the public expense and in Westminster Abbey, a monument to Oliver Cromwell and the attempt was defeated by an alliance of Irish Nationalists and English Conservatives. It is only fair, too, to remember that not one of the wrongs of Ireland was inflicted by the English Conservative party, and that the Liberal party, if it redresses grievances, is only undoing its own work. "The Tories," writes Gavan Duffy, "obtained their historic name (*Toree*=Irish *Rapparee*) on account of their sympathy for the Catholics of Ireland, whom the Whigs were plundering and loading with penal laws." The Irish Tories, of course, are not Conservatives at all in principle; they are Covenanters, Cromwellians and Revolution Whigs accidentally allied by their interests with the English Conservatives. "During the century which followed the Revolution," as the greatest of Whig historians³ acknowledges, "the disposition of a Protestant to trample on the Catholic was generally proportioned to the zeal he professed for liberty in the abstract. If an English Protestant expressed any sympathy for the (Irish) majority oppressed by the minority, he might safely be set down as a Tory and High-Churchman." It is well to remember that in later times Pusey and Keble, though they would not support the Liberal party, supported the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. It may be added that it was

³ Macaulay, "History of England," ch. xvii.

the Liberal party which extended the income tax to Ireland, though the Conservatives, when they instituted that tax for the purpose of lowering the tariff, had exempted Ireland, as they exempted Ireland from some of the war taxes during the South African war. It may be worth our notice that at the time of the American Revolution neither Grenville, nor Townshend, nor Grafton, nor North was a Tory; that the Ministry which passed the taxation acts was Whig, though the Whig party was then so large that it split up, and one section (the Rockinghams) was in opposition; that the Tory party was in a position resembling that of the War Democrats in 1861; that they did not support the Ministry until after the Declaration of Independence; that Burke, and Chatham, and Shelburne pronounced the country gentlemen (the great majority of whom were Tories) to be the most honest and fair-minded members of the House of Commons; that the coalition of Fox and North was a reunion of two Whig sections, and that the Tories followed Pitt. When we look at contemporary politics, especially questions affecting Ireland, we may often feel provoked with the Conservatives for opposing measures of progress from sheer conservatism; but it is only fair to remember that, when once a right is conceded, the same conservative temper which opposed the concession becomes its best protection; whereas the Liberal party appears to be regularly seized with fits of repentance for its concessions to Catholicism. In 1850, when the "furor Protestanticus" raged on both sides of the Atlantic, it was fanned in Great Britain by the Liberal Prime Minister; and it was the Liberal party which enacted the law against Catholic ecclesiastical titles (since repealed), which the Peelite Conservatives resolutely opposed. Two Liberal ex-Premiers expressed their approbation of the German *Kulturkampf*; and it was one of them who tried to persuade the English-speaking world that the Vatican decrees rendered it impossible for a Catholic to be a loyal citizen. A man like Newman could not forget that it was the Liberal party which bestowed the blessings of the Divorce Court upon England, and that one of their arguments against the indissolubility of marriage was that this is a Popish doctrine. "Why," said Mr. Gladstone, who opposed the divorce bill, "why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that the Church of Rome might here and there, by accident at least, do right?" Nor could Newman forget that when, after the attempt of Orsini to assassinate Napoleon III., Lord Palmerston introduced a bill to increase the penalties against "conspiracy to murder," his party revolted against him, though the Conservatives, suspending their opposition, enabled him by their support to carry the second reading of the bill, which affirmed its principle; that the Liberals, in order to prevent the bill from passing,

picked a quarrel with their own Ministry on a point on which they knew that the Conservatives would vote as an opposition against Palmerston, and that when the Conservatives came into power and prosecuted under the existing law those newspapers (*Liberal papers*) which excused political assassination, the Liberals started a popular agitation against the punishment of the editors. The attitude of the Liberal party towards divorce and towards political assassination was a thing which a religious man could not overlook. And the present attack upon the teaching of the Divinity of Christ in the schools shows the justice of his description of liberalism as "the anti-dogmatic principle." The Liberals try to produce the impression that their party is infallible and impeccable—and perhaps induce some others to think so—by the following representation: When they do anything good they are called "the Liberals;" when they do anything bad they are "the English;" consequently "the Liberals" are never said to do anything wrong. In this way "the Liberal party" is made to appear infallible and impeccable. Yet the Liberal party waged the two "Opium Wars" against China, and the Afghan War of 1839, and the Crimean War, which they joined in for the advantage of European liberalism (which hated the Russian autocracy for putting down the Hungarian rebellion in 1848), and it has almost always supported revolutionary and anti-Catholic parties abroad.

It is not wonderful, then, that Newman, though no Conservative party man, should have been anti-Liberal, when he looked not at particular measures or at the policy of the Gladstonian period, but at the abiding tendency, spirit and principles of parties. In those days Manning, too, said to a priest who remarked that the Nonconformists (the chief section of the Liberals) were now liberal towards the Catholic Church: "Never forget that Oliver Cromwell is not dead, but sleeping." Apart from the occasions when it needs the Catholic vote, has the Liberal party ever been liberal towards Catholicism except when it was led by High-Church men such as Burke and Gladstone?

Newman before he became a Catholic held the Lutheran doctrine of "Divine Right," which he inherited. He once said that Lacordaire was a Liberal and he a Tory for the same reasons—both were good Conservatives in spirit, and therefore took up with docility the opinions of their environment. While he was an Anglican, his view of parties was greatly influenced by their attitude towards the Church of England, not that he considered that disestablishment would do much harm to the Church, but that it would be a sin, an act of apostasy, on the part of the State, and that it would make religion unfashionable among the higher classes. We must remember, too,

that the fundamental principle of European liberalism, and at that time of British liberalism, is that the State has no conscience and therefore *ought not* under any circumstances to have a religion. Thus Vinet, who is one of the champions of conscience and who was perhaps the most eminent ethical writer among French-speaking Protestants of the nineteenth century, argues that if the State have a conscience the individual can have none, for the State will impose its own conscience on the individual. The contrary, of course, is the truth—if the State have *not* a conscience, it will impose its own opinions on the individual. What else is there to make the State, if it have not a conscience, respect the conscience of the individual or of the minority? A constitution? But a constitution guaranteeing the rights of the individual conscience is not likely to be framed by men who hold that the State has no conscience, nor will it long be respected by a majority who hold that the State has no conscience. In fact, this principle is simple Machiavelism, though it would be very unjust to say that Liberals generally see the consequences of their principle. If the State has not a conscience there can be no confidence in treaties or in any international engagements; and to say that the State *ought not* under any circumstances whatever to have a religion is certainly contrary to Catholic teaching. Newman, in 1868, when Mr. Gladstone explained (in the pamphlet entitled "A Chapter of Autobiography") how a State may disestablish its own religion and still keep a conscience, wrote to him: "It is most noble, and I can congratulate you with greater reason and more hearty satisfaction than I could upon a score of triumphs at the hustings."⁴ It may be seen, then, in what sense Newman was anti-Liberal, not at all as opposed to paternal government (which liberalism has never favored), but as opposed to the theological liberalism that is, as a rule, associated with political liberalism in any country in which religion and politics are much intermingled, and as believing most Liberals to be insincere in their professions of liberality. "Liberals," said he, "are the bitterest persecutors."⁵ That has always been true of European liberalism and sometimes of British liberalism.

When we turn from political philosophy to other branches, we may notice that Newman was well acquainted, as became an Oxford man, with Aristotle, in logic, rhetoric, poetics and ethics. "While we are men," he says, "we cannot help being to a great extent Aristotelians; for the great Master does but analyze the thoughts, feelings, views and opinion of the human kind. In many subject-matters, to think correctly is to think like Aristotle; and we are

⁴ Morley's "Gladstone," II., 250.

⁵ Newman's Essays, II., 214 ("Essay on Milman's View of Christianity").

his disciples, whether we will or no, though we may not know it.”⁶ One of his earliest essays is a fine and delicate criticism of Aristotle’s theory of poetry. In his “Essay on Assent” he quotes “the philosopher” on the modes of proof in moral and practical questions.

The religious philosophers with whom Newman was best acquainted, probably, were the Alexandrians. When he began to read the fathers for his history of Arianism he was fascinated by the great school of Alexandria. “The broad philosophy of Clement and Origen carried me away—the philosophy, not the theological doctrine. Some portions of their teaching, magnificent in themselves, came like music to my inward ear, as if in response to ideas which, with little external to encourage them, I had cherished so long. These were based on the mystical or sacramental principle, and spoke of the various economies or dispensations of the Eternal. I understood these passages to mean that the exterior world, physical and historical, was but the manifestation to our senses of realities greater than itself.”⁷ And in this connection we may quote a letter written (in May, 1834) in reply to a question concerning Berkeley, Hume and Reid: “As to Berkeley, I do not know enough to talk; but it seems to me that while a man holds the moral governance of God as existing *in and through his conscience*, it matters not [from a religious standpoint] whether he believes his senses or not. For at least he will hold the external world as a *divine* intimation, a scene of trial, whether a reality or not—just as a child’s game may be a trial. I have tried to say this in my ‘Arians,’ ch. I, s. 3. I conceive Hume denied conscience; Berkeley confessed it. To what extent Berkeley denied the existence of the external world I am not aware; nor do I mean to go so far myself (far from it) as to deny the existence of matter, though I should deny that *what we saw* was more than the accidents of it, and say that space perhaps is but a condition of the objects of sense, not a reality.”⁸ As to Reid, I used to know something of him twelve years since, when I was preparing for Oriel. He is a Scotchman who pretends to set Plato to rights. I have no business to talk of writers I have not studied; but the Scotch metaphysicians seem to me singularly destitute of imagination.” The Lowland Scotch are the most purely Teutonic portion of the United Kingdom, and their dialect is the nearest of all the English dialects to the German. The greatest living English historian says that, on account of the large mixture of Celtic blood, “we (the British) ought to accept and glory in the title ‘Anglo-

⁶ “Idea of a University,” Discourse V., sec. 5.

⁷ “Apologia,” ch. I., p. 26.

⁸ Scholastic philosophy holds that our mental image of Space (*spatium imaginarium*) is not correspondent to the reality.

Celtic' as the fitting designation of our race."⁹ It may be noted that many who talk more of philosophers have studied them less than Newman.

With the mediæval scholastics Newman certainly was not acquainted, but we may console ourselves in some degree by his incomparable familiarity with the fathers. With the British philosophers he was sufficiently conversant. Besides Berkeley, Hume and Reid, he writes with intelligence and accuracy of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Clark, Butler, Bentham and Coleridge. Butler, indeed, who proclaims the authority of the moral law and of conscience as forcibly and solemnly as any man has ever done, and whose "Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature" is founded on principles similar to those of the Alexandrians (and, indeed, of Catholic philosophy in general), is the one man whom Newman in philosophy calls master. Of Coleridge, who (as Mr. Wilfrid Ward has pointed out) is the link between Burke and Newman, he in his old age, by a failure of recollection, said that he never had read a word; and the statement has been quoted by some who should have known better. In fact, he quotes Coleridge in the "Essay on Assent." In the year 1835 he noted down: "During this spring I for the first time read parts of Coleridge's works; and I am surprised how much I thought mine is to be found there." He knew well the substance of Coleridge, and he saw clearly where the divergence came between the mystic tendency of Coleridge and the severely ethical and practical character of his own philosophy. Some of his own countrymen, perhaps from literary jealousy, perhaps to display their own reading, perhaps from annoyance that he is not a Kantian, criticize him for not studying Kant and echo Dean Stanley's silly remark: "How different the fortunes of the Church of England if Newman had known German!" Why Newman should be expected to read Kant any more than German philosophers are expected to read Newman is not very clear. He had friends around him well able to give him information about things German. In fact, the insularity of British scholarship in that day is chiefly an imagination of the later critics. With France, indeed, the wars with the French Revolution and Napoleon had suspended the interchange of ideas. But the same cause, together with the personal connection between the crowns of Hanover and of the United Kingdom, tended to increase intercourse with Germany. Coleridge's "Wallenstein" is there to attest the study of German. In Italian studies Carey's "Dante" belongs to those years; and the Oxford

⁹ Bancroft had long ago described the inhabitants of Great Britain as a breed "in whom the hardihood of the Norman was intermingled with the gentler qualities of the Celt and the Saxon."

School were marked by love of Italian literature. Spanish was probably more studied then than even now. As to philosophy, there are not now in Great Britain, or perhaps in any other country, men who have a greater acquaintance with the history of other men's ideas and systems than Mackintosh, Coleridge and Hamilton. Pusey had studied in Germany, and the controversy between Hugh James Rose and Pusey concerning "the state of German Protestantism" and "the causes of the rationalist character of German theology" shows no lack of knowledge on the part of either. Newman's friend, John William Bowden, a good German scholar, who read many German works for his "Life of Hildebrand," advised him not to give to German the time needed for so many pressing interests, as Bowden could always find for him anything he needed to know from a German book. Newman knew quite enough about German philosophy to be able to say, in reference to the results of a combination of ideas, that "the same philosophical elements, according as they are received into a certain sensibility, or insensibility, to sin and its consequences, lead one mind to the Church of Rome and another to what, for want of a better name, may be called Germanism."¹⁰ And again: "What were Arius and Abelard but forerunners of modern German professors, who aim at originality, show and popularity at the expense of truth?"¹¹

The truth is that a man of original genius such as Newman is not to be criticized by those who only know what other people have thought. To know all about other people's ideas is good; but it is better if a man be of the kind whose ideas are worth being known by other people. Now, Newman is one of those men given to us by Providence not for the mere purpose of talking about the contents of "the last German book," but of pouring out ideas of his own. I cannot but think that Newman has given us the Patristic philosophy of religion and morals in the language of our own day and our own world. His arguments for the existence and attributes of God are chiefly, but no means exclusively, psychological and moral. Of "the things which are made," through which "the invisible things of God are perceived," the most important, after all, is the human soul, which is made in the likeness and image of God. And while the sensible universe furnishes evidence of God's power, wisdom, majesty and in some measure of His benevolence, it is the soul, with its conscience, free will and moral ideals, that affords proof of His personality and holiness; and thus Newman says that conscience witnesses to God "as a shadow to a substance." He is as

¹⁰ "Development of Doctrine," ch. v., sec. ii., n. 2 (p. 180, edition of 1887).

¹¹ "Rise and Progress of Universities," ch. v. ("Historical Sketches," iii., 73).

far as any man can be from thinking that the conscience has an immediate apprehension, or intuition, or "experience" of God.¹² As Dr. Ward pointed out in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1872, pages 58 and 55): "Liberatore, Dmowski and, we think, all modern Catholic philosophers hold that in intuiting the moral evil of a given act men spontaneously and inevitably cognize the fact of its being prohibited by some Supreme Law-giver. . . . They say that some knowledge of God is included in the cognition of a moral axiom, . . . and they say that a large number of moral axioms are self-evident." Newman says in natural theology what they have been in the habit of saying in their ethics. That is the only difference.

And he keeps as far away from rationalism as from skepticism, and from Gnosticism as from Agnosticism. He often points out that there are mysteries in nature as well as in revelation, and that not all difficulties can be solved and not all objections answered; and this is the confession of Job and of St. Paul. His "Essay on Assent," when it first appeared, was severely criticized by some, of whom he said: "I think I do not understand them, and I am sure they do not understand me," and he refused to reply, leaving the work with calm confidence to the judgment of the future. The future to which he looked forward is now the present, and it has not much fault to find with the book. The "Essay" contains a few mistakes, and in that it resembles every other treatise on philosophy which it has ever been the present writer's fortune to meet. But on the whole it is one of the most notable contributions ever made to the philosophy of moral certitude and to the logic of religion, and its repute is bound steadily to increase. He does not come before us in the pomp and circumstances of technical terminology; and he once showed that one of his critics (a countryman of his own) did not understand the English language. But truth is none the worse, but all the better when it is invested with the charm of beauty, which is its natural right; and through the graces of Newman's style that ancient Catholic philosophy has won its way into the mind of many a Catholic and, indeed, many a non-Catholic, who in their weakness would only have been repelled by the style of the scholastics. He is the interpreter of the mind of the Church to the English-speaking world. And if a Pope could say, after Sobieski's deliverance of Vienna, "There was a man sent by God, whose name was John," may we not reverently say so of Newman?

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¹² How far the mysticism found outside of the body of the Church is due to grace no one can say.

DON ALEXANDER O'REILLY, FIELD MARSHAL OF SPAIN.

DON ALEXANDER O'REILLY, an Irish soldier in the service of Spain. Captain General of Louisiana and Cuba. Field Marshal of Spain, 1722-1794.

BY THE treaty of Paris, 1763, France relinquished to Spain all claims to Louisiana, and by a treaty previously made with the King of Spain the French King ceded to the Spanish Crown Louisiana and the Island of Orleans. But Spain seemed to care little for this magnificent gift. In 1764 King Louis XV. wrote to Governor Abbadie relating the terms of the cession. But the colonists, being deeply attached to the mother country, besought the King to hold Louisiana for France.

Public remonstrances and petitions against the transfer to Spain reached King Louis frequently. The colonists sent Jean Milhet, the richest of their merchants, to Paris to plead their cause. Bienville, the founder of Mobile and New Orleans, was then living in Paris, being in his eighty-sixth year. He backed the petition of his former friends, and when he died, a few days later, it was said that he died of grief because the infidel Minister, Choiseul, utterly refused to keep Louisiana. An evil woman who ruled the court about this time would have nothing to do with American colonies, North or South. They were, in her eyes, but some acres of snow. The wealthy delegate Milhet was as unsuccessful as the dying Bienville.

Meanwhile many now deemed the cession in some sense an accomplished fact. Don Antonio Ulloa, a scholar of European reputation, arrived in New Orleans March 5, 1766, commissioned by King Charles III. as the first Spanish Governor of Louisiana. Discontent showed itself everywhere and soon culminated in open rebellion. At last the malcontents, against the advice of Aubrey, the French Governor, petitioned the Supreme Council to command Ulloa and the other Spanish officers to leave the colony. A petition to this effect was signed by 550 citizens. Six hundred armed men stood ready to enforce the obedience of Ulloa.

Ulloa determined to retire to Cuba, and went aboard one of the King's vessels moored at the other side of the river. Here he remained till the next night, when the cables were cut by the populace and the ship sent adrift.

After this treacherous act the condition of the rebels became more perilous. News of this outrage having reached Spain, the King resolved to restore order at any cost. There was then in the service of the Catholic King an officer of high rank, in whom he had the fullest confidence, Don Alexander O'Reilly, a native of Ireland and

a descendant of one of the bravest of Sarsfield's soldiers. Debarred by his religion from a career suitable to his rank, he, like many of his countrymen, sought military service under the Spanish flag. It has been computed that from the Battle of the Boyne and the sieges of Limerick, '89-'90, to the French Revolution, 1789, three-quarters of a million of Irishmen served in the armies and navies of Europe.

One of the most distinguished of these warlike exiles was Don Alexander O'Reilly, who won high renown as a commander in war and a civil administrator in peace.

O'Reilly was born in Baltrasna, in the fertile County of Meath, in 1722. The penal laws were in full force, but, like other gentlemen of his rank, his father contrived to procure for his children excellent tutors, probably disguised priests, from one or other of the great continental universities, many of whom were to be found as missionaries in Ireland at that date. Count O'Reilly's polished manner, his fine address and his beautiful letters, which are treasured as heirlooms in Louisiana to-day by the best Creole families, prove that from early associations in childhood he mixed with persons of rank and learning.

When quite young he joined the Irish Brigade in the service of Spain, and several of his brothers became soldiers of the Catholic King. His youngest brother dedicated his life to God in the religious state as a friar of St. Francis, and after laboring for several years on the dangerous missions of his native land he died in the odor of sanctity a Franciscan priest in the ancient monastery of St. Francis near Dublin.

The parts of Ireland where O'Reilly first saw the light abounded in romantic and historic lore, which was not without its influence on his education and temperament. It was in Royal Meath that much of the tragedy of the hapless Queen Devoirgilla was enacted—her sin and her long and bitter repentance. No doubt he visited beautiful Clonmacnoise and admired the classic pillars and carved arches of the penitent Queen's stately chapel. Here he could bewail the evil days, not yet forgotten in the songs and traditions of the people, when her favorite, Dermot, led the Anglo-Norman Fitzstephen into Ireland to aid him in his evil war against her own husband. These were sad days for the whole country. The fallen Queen, let us hope, made all the reparation it was possible for her to make. The remains of schools, churches and monasteries to-day attest her sincerity. And perhaps we may be bold to say, as of another great sinner who is known wherever the Gospel is preached: "Many sins were forgiven her because she loved much."

O'Reilly married in Spain a lady of rank. They were blessed

with several children, whom they brought up in the fear and love of God and in the strict practice of the holy Catholic religion.

In the early days of his military career O'Reilly fought in the wars of Italy, where he received a wound which lamed him for life. This caused his enemies in Louisiana to nickname him "Le Boiteux." They also called him "Cruel O'Reilly" and even "Bloody O'Reilly." But it is probable he never heard this. And it is certain that there never was a soldier in America or elsewhere who less deserved these opprobrious epithets than this fearless captain general. He figured in many battles in Europe and America and was a special favorite of the King, Charles III., whose life he had been fortunate enough to save in a popular tumult at Madrid in 1762.

This energetic officer, who stood in such high favor with the Majesty of Spain and in whom the King had implicit confidence, was selected by his royal master to quell the insurrection in New Orleans, investigate the disturbances and, as far as necessary, punish the insurgents, especially the ringleaders.

Count O'Reilly arrived at the Balize early in August, 1769, with a fleet of twenty-four sail and two thousand six hundred of his best troops. When the New Orleans people heard of the arrival of this armament they were not anxious to face the foe. They did not even wait for the landing of the soldiers. Terror-stricken, they deserted the streets and shut themselves up in their wooden houses. The new Governor, however, quieted their fears, declaring that only the leaders would be arrested. Only they would be tried, and if found guilty, punished according to the laws in force in all civilized countries for such cases.

General O'Reilly on this occasion showed the lofty enthusiasm with which his whole character was tinctured, and treated the misguided people with extreme gentleness and courtesy. It is clear that the King had sent the general to punish those who deserved punishment and pardon all who deserved acquittal. These were well known in the colony. The King was a sincere friend of the general and entertained for him such affectionate regard as rarely passes the domestic hearth.

One does not ordinarily speak of a royal favorite as a friend, but there seemed to have existed a genuine friendship between the Catholic King and the renowned captain general. The Spanish Governors were noted for their mildness. "The people will remain quiet," said Nuzaga, O'Reilly's successor, a little later, "as long as

¹ The story of the men who went down the river to meet O'Reilly in 1769 is given as it was given in a public library of New Orleans by a gentleman who claimed to be a descendant of one of the party, and had the incident in writing. Gayarre tells it somewhat differently in his "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination."

they are gently treated, but the use of the rod would produce confusion." "The royal intentions are," said another, "that nothing be done which may breed discontent among the King's subjects."

Several leaders of the insurrection went down the river¹ to see the redoubtable chieftain and try if they could judge what his action was likely to be in the coming crisis. The general received his self-imposed guests very graciously, and they seemed to enjoy themselves at his hospitable board. Dinner over, they assembled on deck to recreate before leaving. The Governor joined them. He probably knew at this time that their chances of acquittal were small. They were surprised to see him strike his bosom beneath his uniform and exclaim: "Gentlemen, I have here in my bosom the orders of the King, which must be obeyed." He then tossed up his arms and cried out: "Flee, gentlemen, if you want to escape. Flee!"

They were then untried and, of couse, unconvicted. They could have escaped to their plantations or elsewhere with little difficulty and no danger. But they looked for acquittal and they heeded not the warning. O'Reilly certainly stayed long enough in the river to give all the accused ample time to escape.

Towards the middle of August the Spanish armament cast anchor before the city of New Orleans, and in two days more the troops finally disembarked and were marched into the public square in front of the government buildings. Here, on the 18th of August, in presence of a large concourse of people and before the troops of both powers, the public ceremony of delivering the province to the Spanish Governor was performed. The flag of France slowly descended from the top of the flagstaff, greeting that of Spain as it mounted aloft before the assembled multitude, and was cheered by the troops of both nations.

The landing of these soldiers was the most magnificent spectacle ever beheld in Louisiana, always fond of brilliant spectacles. The Spanish soldiers were gorgeously equipped and moved to their appointed places with the martial tread of perfectly drilled soldiers. Always delighted with sights, the populace poured out towards the river to gaze on one of the showiest ever seen in America, seeming to care little whether the lilies of France or the flaming colors were flung to the breeze. The prolonged shouts of "Viva el Rey!" were distinctly heard in the cloisters of St. Ursula, about four squares distant.

The hoarse roaring of the cannon was mingled with the mellow tones of all the bells in the towers, while with all possible pomp and circumstance the captain general, attended by his staff of splendidly accoutred men, preceded by officers bearing massive silver maces,

crossed the square to the church, marching to the music of many instruments, not a note of which was lost on the inmates of the neighboring convent, who could see the whole gorgeous pageant from their broad galleries and dormer windows. At that epoch there was nothing to obstruct the view to the river. The row of large houses which now lift their heads above the outer garden wall had not yet been built.

This warlike chieftain who represented the potent Majesty of Spain was received at the sacred portals of the church with royal honors by the French clergy, the head of whom at that time was the famous Père Dagobert,² of the province of Champagne. He welcomed O'Reilly with effusion, and with the utmost enthusiasm promised fidelity for his brethren, the Capuchins and the Congregation of St. Louis, having previously bestowed the benediction of the Church on the Spanish flag.

A splendid military service in honor of the god of armies was performed within the sacred walls of the parish Church of St. Louis. And when the congregation sang the "Te Deum" it was observed that the pale, intellectual countenance of O'Reilly was radiant with devotion as he knelt with his forehead to the earth at the "Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subveni."

Some speak of the church in which O'Reilly's soldiers paraded and that devout chief had knelt in lowly adoration as the famous Cathedral of Almonaster. But that commodious temple, built in 1725, before whose walls the sad Acadians had worshiped, had served its purpose for over sixty years and was destroyed in the dreadful conflagration of 1788, which spread over the whole city from the lamp of the pious treasurer, Don Vincente Nuñez. This plain brick edifice was replaced by the picturesque Cathedral built by Almonaster in 1794, with its white turrets and shining cross, which the princely O'Reilly never saw.

On the historic Place d'Armes, Aubrey, the last of the French Governors, handed the keys of the city to O'Reilly, who, bowing low, received them for the King of Spain, Charles III.

Miniatures of this celebrated soldier preserved among his

² Père Dagobert was a well-known character in New Orleans, Mobile and other places for half a century. His picture is rare. One is owned by Miss Victoria de V——. A venerable Creole lady says it is the only one in existence. Dagobert had a nephew in the colony named Guilmard, an engineer in the Baton Rouge expedition under Galvey, though some historians aver that there was none in this expedition. This Guilmard must have been a jack-of-all-trades. I have seen a plan of the Cathedral drawn by him, and he was the painter of his uncle's portrait. He was also a sculptor, a non-commissioned officer, a scholar and a great favorite of Carondelet. Dagobert was the Père's first or Christian name; the family name was de Louguy. O'Reilly was a special friend of Dagobert's.

descendants in Cuba show that his lineaments resemble those of his illustrious contemporary, George Washington. A small portrait of O'Reilly was given to the writer by the grandson of his Contador (Comptroller), Hon. Carlos Gayarre. This was given by the writer to the late John Boyle O'Reilly, of the *Boston Pilot*, an ardent admirer of his illustrious namesake, and, like him, born among the fertile meads of Royal Meath.³

The trial of the chief conspirators resulted in their conviction, and Laprenière, Marquis, Noyant, Milhet and Caresse were duly sentenced. O'Reilly remained inexorable to the earnest entreaties of those who wished their lives saved. The only concession he would make was the commutation of the death sentence by hanging to military execution or shooting.

Judge Gayarre says, and Monette insinuates as much, that O'Reilly was only thirty-four years old when he came to Louisiana, and they were surprised at the firmness of so young a man. But this is not correct, for relatives in Meath give the year of his birth 1722, and there is reason to believe that this date is correct. In 1769 O'Reilly was in his forty-eighth year.

The defense of the rebels when tried was that Spain had not formally taken possession; that Ulloa had never shown his credentials; that the colonists had never taken the oath of allegiance to Spain. But it was proved that the Spanish flag had for many months been floating at every post from the Balize to Illinois; that the accused had held their commissions from Ulloa and drawn their salaries from the King of Spain while exciting revolt against him. The King's lawyer, Don Felix del Rey, spoke of Laprenière with withering contempt as an unfaithful officer and the chief instigator of conspiracy against the King, whose money he was receiving as Attorney General while exciting rebellion against him.

No particulars are given as to the last hours of the seditious men who were shot in the prison yard on the 27th of September, 1769, about 3 o'clock P. M. The Spanish law always assigned priests to attend criminals under sentence of death. If a priest was sent to these poor men, it was surely their favorite, Father Dagobert, who would be most acceptable. Père Dagobert did not always bear the highest reputation for sanctity. With great wisdom and profound policy O'Reilly liked to place natives of France in the principal offices of Church and State, and hence Dagobert was continued at the head of the French clergy. He was much beloved in the colony and had married, buried or baptized almost all who had need of these ministrations. But if all were true that a certain historian

³ O'Reilly's shield was lately shown in New Orleans to several friends by a Miss R——, whose mother was a lateral descendant of the count himself.

(Shea) says of his conduct, his faults could not escape the eagle eye of O'Reilly, who would have had him removed for far less than his accusers allege against him. The chief authority against him was the austere Father Cyrillo, who at that time did not understand French and was, moreover, ignorant of the customs of Louisiana. He wrote disparagingly of religion in Louisiana. "It is more difficult," said he, "to weed the garden of New Orleans than it was to plant it in the beginning." Very soon was recorded the close of Dagobert's troubled life. "There is no conqueror but death." In the deaths for the parochial Church of St. Louis June 1 is recorded Père Dagobert's. Curiously enough, it was the pious Cyrillo who attended him and "gave ecclesiastical sepulture to his body."

As the King of Spain wished his subjects to receive the great sacrament whose office it is to rouse and fortify the Catholic faith in the heart—Confirmation—Cyrillo was consecrated Bishop in 1781 for this purpose.

We have to return to the execution of the unfortunate malcontents. Some of their relatives took refuge in the Ursuline Convent the day of the execution, where they were treated by the kind Sisters with all possible goodness. One religious who had a relative among these poor men fainted away when she heard the fatal shot, and from that hour could never hear a shot fired without falling into a swoon. But no word of censure was uttered against the King or his Minister by the nuns or their guests.⁴

The state of religion in Louisiana about the time of the cession was truly deplorable. In 1763 the Supreme Council issued a decree of banishment against the Society of Jesus, a blow from which the Church of the colony never wholly recovered. The baseness and tyranny of this insignificant body, composed chiefly of wicked and ignorant men, were indescribable. Their property was confiscated and sold for one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. Their chapels were leveled to the ground and the bodies of their dead desecrated. The faithful in many places were left without an altar.

⁴ Speaking of O'Reilly, I forgot to mention that our Mère de Ste. Thérèse de Moüy, who had been a pupil of the pioneer Ursulines, and who lived until July 25, 1820, had some relatives among the condemned rebels, yet my venerated friend, Sister Mary Gertrude Young, who had lived with her for a decade of years, never heard her censure O'Reilly or his government. She told me, however, that after the execution Mère de Ste. Thérèse could not bear to see a horse or hear a shot fired without weeping or fainting. It seems to me that this goes to prove that great as had been the shock received on the occasion of the execution of the rebels, the action was never set down by O'Reilly's contemporaries to cruelty or injustice; still less was he described as "bloody" for having allowed the law to take its course. Two religious who were living at the execution of the rebels survived that unhappy event for sixty-seven years. It could scarcely have injured their health, and certainly did not shorten their lives.

Among the sacrilegious wretches who aided in this infamous work the Attorney General, Laprenière, head of the Supreme Council, stands conspicuous, and his fate and that of some of his confederates a few years later was regarded as a striking instance of the retributive justice of God.

The Jesuits were torn from their flocks, their chapels burned and their effects sold at auction. Many French and Indians begged that their pastors and altars might be spared to them, but in vain. The harsh orders were carried into effect with details of cruelty which we spare the reader.

Judging from the official reports of the French Governors of Louisiana, it is evident that for several years previous to transfer abuses of all kinds and even complete anarchy reigned in the colony. Aubrey, the last of the French Governors, expresses surprise that the mere presence of one individual (O'Reilly) could have restored tranquillity, good order and pace. Only a man of genius could have suppressed universal insubordination and quieted disturbances which had lasted for years.

When O'Reilly's record was rigorously examined after he had resigned the government of Louisiana by officials appointed for this purpose, these gentlemen "declared that every one of his official acts deserved their most decided approbation and were striking proofs of his extraordinary genius." Nevertheless, we regret that so humane a ruler was unable to restore order and spare the lives of those to whom the law decreed death. The Supreme Council was suppressed by O'Reilly. This body had ordered the expulsion of the scholarly Ulloa. The Cabildo replaced it. The Cabildo brings back to every Spanish mind recollections of Spain's glorious past.

During Spanish domination no taxes were levied in Louisiana. The priests were liberally supported by the King, who also furnished everything for church services. The austere Cyrillo became Bishop. He infused new life into the country parishes (counties), and became a terror to the evildoers who made the religious history of time and place so painful to the Catholic student.

Bishop Cyrillo issued a pastoral, in which he eloquently urged the people to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays. He severely censured the wicked customs of the Negroes, who at the Vesper hour every Sunday assembled in a green, still called Congo Square, to dance the bamboula, throw the wanga and worship the serpent with hideous rites imported from Africa by the Yollofs, Foulahs, Banbarras, Mandingoes and other barbarians of the Dark Continent.

O'Reilly officially declared that it was contrary to the mild and

beneficial laws of Spain to hold Indians in slavery. To evade this merciful law they were often classed with mulattoes as colored. In May, 1784, Indian congresses were held in Mobile and Pensacola, at which Count Arthur O'Neil and Governor Miro presided. Here is an article framed on that occasion:

"In conformity with the humane and generous sentiment of the Spanish nation, we (the Indians) renounce forever the custom of raising scalps and making slaves of our white captives."

O'Reilly's closest attention was given to everything concerning the Divine worship. He even requested the commandant at Natchitoches to see that the church was kept clear of dogs during the hours of Divine service.

The Governor was ordered to visit all the prisoners several times a year—the Alcaldes, the alguazil and the escribano (scrivener) to visit them once a week. These humane and Christian established in Louisiana by this great man reflect high honor on Spanish colonial legislation. This princely ruler was among the last high priests of expiring chivalry. In the oath of office he imposed on his subordinates there is a promise to defend the Immaculate Conception of Our Blessed Lady and never to take any fee from the poor.

The Irish clergy scattered over the territory over which Cyrillo ruled—Fathers Burke, Savage, Walsh, White, O'Reilly, Hassatt, Crosby, Barry, McKenna—who had been accustomed to keep their registers in Latin, were commanded to keep them in Spanish henceforth.

O'Reilly was kindness personified to the Acadians. When they complained he listened gently to their grievances and rectified them on the spot as far as possible. De Clonet, who was commandant of the Poste des Attakapas, at which were many Acadians, is represented to-day by many descendants, especially about St. Martinsville, and much information regarding these early days might recently be gathered from this ancient officer, although the religious wars and disturbances of New Orleans found but little echo in this peaceful region.

Opelousas, "the green Opelousas," was governed from the Attakapas, but in 1787 was made a distinct command, while the Attakapas remained in charge of Chevalier de Clouet. O'Reilly spent some time in these quiet regions and was much beloved by the people whose affairs he regulated in 1770.

Forstall (Forristal), an Irishman placed in office by O'Reilly, carried everywhere with him a huge genealogical tree showing his descent from the Kings of Ireland. Many of his descendants bearing the name Forstall exist in Louisiana. Judge Gayarre told the

writer that he had examined the above genealogy. Several Acadians attained eminence as lawyers and soldiers.

When the Acadians were exposed to evil influence they were easily corrupted. They became the accomplices and tools of the disaffected. They were among the insurgents who paraded the muddy streets and with shouts and yells sustained the Supreme Council when that body ordered the expulsion of Ulloa. In his report to his government Ulloa charges the Acadians with ingratitude, they having received nothing but benefits from the Spaniards. Bishop Carroll noticed in Baltimore the deterioration of the Acadians.

Associated with O'Reilly in the government of Louisiana were several able statesmen—Gayarre, Navarro, Baulign and Loyola, who died soon. He was said to be related to the great founder of the Jesuits.

A noble youth related by marriage to O'Reilly was Sebastian O'Farrell, Marquis Casacalvo, who remained in Louisiana during the Spanish domination.⁵

Francisco Bouligny came to Louisiana as aide-de-camp to O'Reilly in 1769. His father, Jean Bouligny, wrote a genealogy of the family. After referring to their escutcheon, he says: "The principal nobility is to be 'hombre de bien,' of deeds without reproach, to live in the fear of God, in obeying His commands." In a letter dated Alicante, October 21, 1769, Jean writes to Francisco saying he recommended him to O'Reilly, "who offered me to do all for you that would depend on him." He concludes: "Apply yourself to your duty well, for God is the true patron of honest people. I am your dear father, who always thinks of you in his feeble prayers that God may keep you in His holy grace."

When Francisco Bouligny married, El Conde O'Reilly sent the following pretty interesting letter to the bride, written in French:

1770.

Madame: Your happiness will always interest me, and I will give you, with pleasure, all the proofs of this that will depend on me.

I felicitate you on your marriage. Your husband is a worthy officer, of whom I think highly. I hope you will be happy together, and it is in this persuasion that I wished your union.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, madame, your very humble and obedient servant,
O'REILLY.

The above letters and documents, with many others from Governors, Kings, ecclesiastics, written in French or Spanish, are in possession of Mrs. Albert Buldwin, of New Orleans, *née* Bouligny (Artemise), who kindly allowed the writer to examine them.

⁵ A magnificent dinner and ball celebrated the transfer of Louisiana to Spain on December 1. It opened with a minuet, danced by Marquis Casacalvo and Madame Almonaster, the sprightly widow of the pious founder of the New Orleans Cathedral. The Supreme Council was suppressed by O'Reilly, as it had ordered the expulsion of Ulloa. The Cabildo replaced it.

In 1770 O'Reilly introduced many useful regulations and salutary laws, and perfect order was soon established. Spanish emigrants began to come in great numbers, with Americans and West Indians. The population increased so rapidly as to cause a general scarcity. Flour rose to twenty dollars a barrel. Oliver Pollock came from Baltimore with a cargo of flour which he offered O'Reilly on his own terms for the use of the city. O'Reilly declining to receive it on such terms, Pollock sold it to him at fifteen dollars. O'Reilly was so pleased at the purchase that he granted Pollock the free trade of Louisiana as long as he lived and promised to report his generosity to the King.

A pretty story is told in connection with Pollock. He was an Irishman—a native of Meath. In O'Reilly he discovered an old companion. So closely were they related that they both spoke their native language with the same accent and were happy to renew under tropical skies their ancient friendship.

On O'Reilly's return to Spain he remodeled the Spanish army. He was created field marshal and sent to Havana to restore the fortifications. In 1775 he was made commander general of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz. In 1794 he was placed in command of the army of the Pyrenees, but died on his way there in 1794, at the age of seventy-two, near the small city of Chinchilla.

O'Reilly, by a long, wide street in New Orleans known as O'Reilly street, to this day the chief business street in Havana is styled Calle O'Reilly, O'Reilly street. The Governor's palace is between O'Reilly and Obispo, fronting on the Plaza. The post office is at the foot of O'Reilly street.

MARY AUSTIN CARROLL.

CATHOLICITY AND THE DABISTAN.

"That they may be One." St. John xvii., 11.

IN THE middle of the seventeenth century there lived a certain Persian traveler named Mohsan Fani, whose claim to fame rests upon a very rare and famous book called "The Dabistain," or School of Manners, well known to scholars, which is really a résumé of Asiatic religions. Fani composed it about the year 1645, and some two hundred years later, in 1843, it was translated from the Persian by Antony Troyer, who wrote a valuable preface containing a synopsis of the work itself, which is in three volumes.

We wish to call attention to this book for the same reason (with a difference) which we think prompted the devout Mussulman to write it—namely, the conviction that if one faith, as we Christians believe, is ever to prevail all over the world, we must find out what the points of agreement are in the great religions of the world; we must see if there are fundamental dogmas common to all, and thus approach each other in the spirit of peace.

It matters not that Mohsan Fani wrote from a Mussulman's standpoint, in the hope that all the world would eventually become Mussulmans, and we from a Catholic point of view, because the underlying principle of both is mainly that a better understanding of the great religions of the world tends to unity and paves the way for Catholic missionaries. It may be asked, if this be so, why then should it not pave the way for Moslem or Buddhist missionaries also, a condition of things not "devoutly to be wished?" We answer it is an indisputable fact, though one often forgotten, that whatever of truth is found in any of the great religions of the world, whether Parsian, Buddhist, Hindoo or Moslem, is also found in the Catholic religion; but this cannot be asserted of any other religion.

There is a natural as well as a supernatural reason for this. The Divine Founder of Christianity was Himself in his human nature an Asiatic, therefore as man His teaching would naturally be consonant with Eastern methods of thought. The supernatural reason is that the Catholic religion contains all truths that ever have been divinely revealed. Therefore, if any other religion contains any of these truths they are bound to be found in the Catholic faith; but it does not follow that they will be found in any third religion, for Islam contains truths not to be found in Buddhism, Buddhism truths not found in the Parsian religion, though, as we shall presently see, there are certain truths common to several of the great religions. It follows, then, that a better understanding of each other's faith will discover a basis of unity with Catholicity because the Catholic religion alone is divinely revealed, and therefore alone is certain to hold what is of truth in any other religion, and just as international hatred and prejudice proceed mainly from ignorance and misrepresentation and are removed by a better acquaintance, so in religious matters ignorance and misstatements of each other's faith are partly responsible for the persistence of heretical creeds and for the impassable gulf which separates Christianity from other religions. Mohsan Fani evidently felt this 250 years ago, from his Moslem point of view, and wrote "The Dabistan" to bridge over the gulf from the side of Islam. How far he succeeded we shall hope to show in this paper.

All religions except the Catholic have fallen from their original

purity of doctrine and have become adulterated and superstitious to suit the uneducated masses of the people. So we cannot judge of the Parsian religion, of Buddhism, of Lamaism, of Hindooism, of Islam by the popular expression of these creeds by the lower orders. Zoroaster, Sakya-Muni and Mahomet would probably scarcely recognize their own teaching in the grotesque practices of their followers of the present day. It is not among the ignorant, superstitious exponents of these religions that we shall find any points of resemblance between their debased idolatrous creeds and our holy religion; we must go to the highly educated Lamas of Thibet, the Sufis of Arabia and Persia and the learned mystics of India, and then we shall be struck by the similarity of our faiths in the deepest philosophical and metaphysical questions and the highest spiritual truths and, more strange still, in the resemblance between the spiritual experience of all the mystics, so that sometimes in Buddhist and Moslem mystical writings passages are found relating to various states of union with God which almost might have been written by Christian mystics.

Before proceeding to summarize "The Dabistan" we would remark that we have here avoided the use of the word "Mahometan" to describe the followers of Mahomet, because, though it is not to them an offensive term, as some scholars have thought, they never use it, and prefer to be known as Mussulmans, or Moslems, or Mu'mins, and call themselves "the people," meaning really the people of Mahomet.¹ Islam means resignation to God, from an Arabic word connected with the Hebrew "Salem," or peace, and is used by its believers to express the religion of Mahomet, the chief tenet of which is submission to the will of God.

The absolute nature of the resignation of the human will to the Divine will inculcated by Mahomet is shown in a well-known story of a Moslem saint, the beauty of which is the best excuse for quoting it. A certain man after spending many years in prayer and fasting, at length knocked at the gate of heaven and a voice from within asked, "Who is there?" The saint replied, "It is I." But the gates remained closed, so he went weeping away and fasted and prayed for seven years, and then again knocked at heaven's gate. Again the voice within asked, "Who is there?" and again the saint replied, "It is I," and the voice within said, "There is not room here for thee and me," and again the gate remained closed, and the saint went away for another seven years of prayer and fasting, and then once more he knocked at the gate. Once more the voice within cried, "Who is there?" But this time the saint, now perfect in submission and so absolutely one with God that nothing of self remained within

¹ See Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam."

him, answered, "It is Thou," and this time the gate was opened and he went in.

Mohsan Fani, a Persian by birth, lived in the decline of Islam. He divided the "Dabistan" into twelve chapters, each descriptive of a religion or sect, but as one would expect, he is most at home when dealing with the religion to which he belonged. His accounts of Judaism and of Christianity contain mistakes, and those of Buddhism and Lamaism, with which he seems to have had but a slight acquaintance, are very brief.

He begins with a description of the ancient religion of Persia, the Mahabadian or Parsian, by which latter name it is better known; the second chapter treats of Zoroastrianism, the third of Hindooism, the fourth of the Sikhs, the fifth of Buddhism, the sixth of Judaism, the seventh of Christianity and the remaining five deal with the various principal sects of Islam. Besides the two great divisions into the Sunnites or Orthodox Mahometans or Mussulmans and the Shiahhs or Shiites, who follow Ali and are mostly found in Persia, Syria and the north of Arabia, there are no less than seventy sects. Mahomet, with sublime impartiality, consigned them all except the Sunnites to eternal damnation. The Parsian religion is the earliest religion of the Persians and prevailed among the first Persian dynasty; there are many sects in it, and it was corrupted both before, during and after the time of Zoroaster.² Mahabada, after whom it is sometimes called, was the first earthly ruler of the present cycle and the first ancestor of a new innumerable population. Mohsan Fani appears to be better acquainted with the religion of the Parsees, the ancient faith of his country, than with any other except Islam, and gives a long account of it and is evidently much in sympathy with it. He says the Parsees believe it to be wrong to hold any religious faith in abhorrence, and hold that we can draw near to God in any faith, but they think that the great barrier to approaching God is the slaughter of innocuous animals. Mr. Troyer in his preface says the Parsian religion is founded on transcendental ideas of the Deity, and he quotes the following passage from the "Desatir," the sacred book of the Parsees: "Except God Himself, who can comprehend His origin? Entity, unity, identity are inseparable properties of this original essence and are not adventitious to Him."³ Mohsan Fani says they were seekers after a Being who is without equal, without form or color or pattern, and they contemplate Him without using Arabian, Persian, Hindoo or any other language.

This is only another way of saying the Parsees practice mental prayer; and it is clear their original conceptions of Almighty God

² See Preface to "The Dabistan."

³ See Preface to "The Dabistan," p. 68.

were of a Spiritual Being, incomprehensible, transcending all others, infinite; they, like us, believed "God is a Spirit," but, unfortunately, instead of being content to "worship Him in spirit and in truth," they fell into the error of worshipping the sun as an emblem of Him, though they believe He created the sun and stars, and that all things emanate from Him.

They worship the stars also and believe that each star has its own particular intelligence or spirit or angel inhabiting it. Thus Adam inhabits the moon, which is the source from which the traditional man in the moon is derived, though Dante believes him to be Cain.⁴ Abraham is worshiped in Saturn, Aaron in Mars, Joseph in Venus and St. John and Our Lord in Mercury, according to the "Desatir," which places some Persian Kings in the moon instead of Adam, whom Fani as a follower of Mahomet places there. In pursuance of this cultus, every private house inhabited by Parsees has images of the stars. They also believe that the eternal Paradise is the heavens and the sun the Lord of the empyrean.

They think that the world is eternal and will continue to all infinity, and that it bears the same relation to the Creator as the solar sun does to the sun.⁵ They believe in the angels and have a beautiful saying "that not a drop of dew falls without an angel." According to them, all creation is the abode of the angels, which may be their version of and way of saying that "we are encompassed about with a great crowd of witnesses." They believe the human soul to be eternal and infinite instead of immortal, and they think if it is a holy soul it will return to the heavens and be united to the stars. While like us they believe perfect souls will attain the Beatific Vision, on the other hand they hold the heretical doctrine that depraved souls will descend to animals, vegetables or stones.

A Persian idea not peculiar to any religious body is that when the soul of a deceased person reaches the bridge of eternity it meets an apparition, which according to the deceased person's past may be either attractive or repulsive, and when asked by the soul, "Who art thou?" the apparition will answer, "I am thy life." What is this but an Eastern and poetical version of the old Western rhyme:

As the man lives, so shall he die;
As the man dies, so he shall be
All through the days of eternity.

The Parsian religion is a strange mixture of truth and error. While on the one hand its professors hold some sublime truths, on the other they have fallen into gross errors. They look upon insanity and illness as a visitation of Providence and as acts of attributive justice for works done in a former existence; for, like

⁴ "The Inferno," xx., 1300.

⁵ This is the doctrine of emanation.

the Buddhist, they believe in reincarnation and the transmigration of souls.

Like other Eastern mystics, they believe man can quit his body for a time and resume it. In their contemplations they, like us, strive after union with God, "keeping their hearts in His presence until they, rescued from shadows of doubt, are identified with God." These are Mohsan Fani's own words, and he continues: "Thou art but an atom, He the great whole; but if for a few days thou meditate with care on the Whole, thou becomes one with it."⁶

In judging of the Parsian religion from Mohsan Fani's point of view, we must not forget that he was a Mussulman, and the Mussulmans as a body hate the Parsees intensely and misrepresent them. This he does not appear to have done, but, on the contrary, to have written dispassionately and even sympathetically of them, as he has of all the other religions he describes.

In Zoroastrianism there are two great principles—God or Light, and Ahriman or darkness.⁷ Fani treats it as a separate religion, but it is generally considered a reform of the Parsian creed, which had become corrupt before Zoroaster's time. What that time was historians are not agreed, some placing him as far as fifteen centuries before Christ, others only six centuries before Christ.

His followers have no altars or temples; fire is offered on the ground by the priests or by Kings, who are called Magi. Neither Mohsan Fani nor his translator, Mr. Troyer, seem to have the slightest doubt as to Zoroaster's existence, which, because his history is so involved in contradictory legends, some modern scholars have doubted. Mr. Troyer says in his preface that Zoroaster prophesied a Saviour who should restore the kingdom of God and destroy the world by fire, and he also prophesied a general resurrection of the dead.

His sacred writings were very voluminous. What remain are contained in the "Zendavesta," or "Living Word," which is in two parts, one in Zend and the other in Phlvi, or Pehlavi, the ancient Persian language. The first part is a sort of breviary, which the priests or Magi had to recite before the rising of the sun; the second section is prayers, some in Pehlvi and some in Persian, and the third is a sort of calendar. The second part is a kind of encyclopedia containing instructions in astronomy, religion, worship, agriculture, cosmogony, civil institutions, etc.⁸

Zoroaster preached no austerities. On the contrary, one of his sayings is "Know that in thy faith there is no fasting except that

⁶ "The Dabistan," Vol. I., p. 69 seq.

⁷ See Preface to "Dabistan."

⁸ See Bouillet's "Dictionnaire Historique."

of avoiding sin, in which sense thou must fast the whole year.”⁹ The exposition of Hindooism contained in the third part is long and full and evidently partly derived from conversation with educated Hindoos in the course of some of Fani’s travels, which extended to India, and partly from a perusal of the Vedas, the sacred book of the Hindoos, which he frequently quotes in the “Dabistan.” This most fascinating book has not a dull page in it. Fani is always interesting, never dry or pedantic and frequently enlivens his subject with little anecdotes, sometimes humorous and sometimes poetic. The great principle of Hindooism as defined by Mr. Troyer in the preface is “the emanation of all existences from a common but unknown source. God is the producer of the beginning and the end (*cf.*, “I am Alpha and Omega”), “exhibiting Himself in the mirror of true space. Creation is held to have proceeded from pure space and time.”

The original Hindoo doctrine of the Trinity approached very nearly to the Catholic doctrine, but it afterwards became gradually corrupted. The Vedanta quoted by Mr. Troyer in speaking of the creation says: “God manifesting His Being and Unity in three Persons separate from each other formed the universe.”¹⁰ Would a Catholic theologian quarrel much with this definition? Afterwards Fani says this Trinity became the three principles of Creation, Preservation and Renovation, which are now personified and worshiped under the name of Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver or Wisdom, and Siva the Destroyer or Fire. Some of the Hindoos believe Brahma, which means excellent, to be the Great Spirit, a Being pure, perfect, omniscient, comprehending all things, overseeing all things, the Lord of life. Those who hold this are called the Vedantines, because they follow the teaching of the Vedas; and they are the wisest of the many sects of Hindooism. The Vedas are four in number. The first, or Rigveda, treats of the Divine Essence and attributes of creation; of the path of righteousness, of life and death. The second treats of ritual and contains prayers. The third deals with music and the proper way of reading the Vedas; and the fourth contains rules of archery and prayers to be said when fighting.

In philosophy the Hindoos are idealists, believing that the world is an appearance only without any reality, and that what exists is in truth God, and everything else is an illusion coming from Him, but having no reality. Mohsan Fani tells two stories *à propos* to this which show he possessed the saving grace of humor.

He says that one day in the course of his travels he met a little

⁹ Preface, p. 101.

¹⁰ Preface, p. 60.

boy of ten, who told him the world was an appearance only; and the next day he met the juvenile philosopher crying with rage. Fani stopped him and said: "Yesterday you told me the world and all that is in it were an illusion only; why, then, are you crying?" The boy answered: "If the world is nothing, my crying is nothing; I am not in contradiction with myself." And, adds Fani, he continued crying. Perfection is supposed by the Hindoos to consist in knowing that everything except God is an illusion; by austerities and meditation they can become convinced of this, and those who are called Yogis, which means united with God, from Yoga or union.¹¹

The other story just alluded to is of a certain Hindoo philosopher who was always teaching that nothing really existed; that the world and everything in it were only an appearance. His servant thought he might derive advantage from his master's philosophy, so he stole his horse, and when the philosopher wished to ride put the saddle and bridle on an ass and brought that round instead. The master asked for an explanation and was informed it was a practical demonstration of his own philosophy. The philosopher was even more practical than the servant, for he took the saddle and bridle off the ass, ordered the man to go on all fours, put the bridle and saddle on him, and, whip in hand, mounted and flogged away till the man was convinced of the reality of certain things and persuaded his master's whip was no illusion, though his faith in his philosophy was gone.

The austerities practiced by the Hindoos are very great, almost incredible. Fani witnessed some himself, which he mentions, and was so struck with them that he seems to think others he heard of were possible. One great feature in their austerities is restraining the breath. This is held in great esteem, and it is believed that those who are masters of the process, said by Fani to be a very elaborate one, are so united with God that they coalesce with Him. Fani heard of one penitent who had restrained his breath for a week, but appeared to be none the worse for it, as he lived to be one hundred and twenty and then possessed all his faculties.¹²

Another favorite austerity is standing on one leg. Fani mentions one man who had stood for twelve years on one leg. Another austerity is cutting their flesh; another practicing perpetual silence; another leaping from rocks. All these austerities are practiced by the Yogis in the hope of obtaining union with God. When a Yogi is overpowered by sickness he is buried alive, or was in Fani's time, for it would, of course, not be allowed by the government now any more than "Suttee" is.

¹¹ "The Dabistan," Vol. II., p. 100.

¹² "The Dabistan," Vol. II., p. 138.

The fourth chapter, which describes the Sikhs and their religion, is very brief. They are primarily a religious sect, and were founded by one Nanac, a native of Lahore, who was born in 1469. He abstained from wine and flesh meat and taught his followers to hurt no living being. The Sikhs still abstain from wine, but they no longer follow their founder's teaching with regard to meat and hurting others. They believe in the Unity of God, in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls from one body to another, and in the avatars and divinities of the Hindoos. They appear to be a sort of cross between Mussulmans and Hindoos, for Fani tells us they wear the rosary of the Mussulmans in their hands and the thread of the Hindoos on their necks.

The chapter devoted to Buddhism and Lamaism is not so interesting, because we now know so much more about them than Fani did, though he has a general idea of their principal tenets.

He says they call God "Kazak" and believe Him to be one, infinite and almighty, and to have manifested Himself in three forms. He gives a curious definition of what we call mental prayer as a Buddhist theory—namely, "if any one finds God he converses with Him without a tongue and is equal to a prophet." He sums up the whole Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation and Nirvana in a very few words: "They believe the soul to be eternal, and if it knows itself and God, it ascends to the upper world; if not, then it remains below." He tells us that the Buddhists hate the Brahmins and believe Vishnu to have assumed the avatar of Buddha 3112 B. C. The Lamas, some of whom he may have met in the course of his travels, and from them have derived his scanty information, are, he says, called Lamas when they return from "the magnificent temple of Barmianek." (Query: Does he mean Lhasa?) He describes the Lamas as wearing tangled hair, eating from a skull, using the human fingers as rosaries and those of the forearm as trumpets. They abstain from flesh meat, avoid women and say, "We are dead, and dead men have nothing to do with the living."¹³ We assume, then, that the Lamas Mohsan Fani knew were neither sociable nor communicative; at any rate, whether from prejudice or ignorance, his account of the Buddhist religion is very inadequate, and in a comparative view he takes of the great religions of the world he omits it. His account of the Jews is incorrect, though he must have met many, and there are some ludicrous mistakes and a want of proportion in his summary of the Christian religion. He gathered his information about Christianity from a Catholic source, and on the whole his synopsis of Catholic dogma is fairly accurate. He learnt it from a Portuguese priest, probably a Franciscan friar whom he

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 292.

met in Surat and Goa and whom he calls Padre Francis. He seems to have understood the doctrines of the Incarnation and of Transubstantiation and the seven sacraments, but he gives as the fourth precept of the Church "to keep the fast at Christmas and the other fasts." We can only conclude he meant Advent, and perhaps it was during that season that he met Padre Francis. The fifth precept of the Church, according to Fani, is to give a tenth part of one's income to God. This, he says, is obligatory. He says we believe in four places under the earth—hell, Purgatory, limbo and Paradise, which last we call the "house of Ibrahim," by which he evidently means Abraham's bosom, Padre Francis having presumably told him the parable of Dives and Lazarus. It was from Paradise, he adds, that Jesus delivered the souls of the prophets. As an instance of his want of perception of the relative proportion of tradition and revealed truth, he lays as great stress on the legend of St. Veronica as on the resurrection, and mentions that there are three of her handkerchiefs with the impression of Our Lord's face on them in existence—one in Rome, one in Lisbon and one in Milan. Mr. Troyer says this last is a mistake, and that the third is in the Cathedral of Valencia, in Spain; but he also was in error, for the third is supposed to be in the Cathedral of Jaen, in Spain. The one in Rome has been at St. Peter's since the year 700 A. D., according to Catholic tradition.¹⁴ As we should expect, our author is quite at home when he comes to deal with the Moslem religion, to which he devotes five chapters, the most interesting of which concerns the Sufis, to which we shall revert immediately. He tells us that the Sunnis, the Shiahs and all the various sects of Islam "are agreed on the grand majestic beneficence of one Supreme Being, Creator, Ruler and Preserver of the world, which is the effulgence of His power." This is sublimely expressed in the Koran, which he describes as an inheritance of the most ancient Asiatic religion. The sects of Islam disagree about the attributes of God and about predestination, which has always been a source of violent disputes among them.

They believe "that the highest of all blessings is the sight of God; that on the last day God will fold the heavens together; heaven and hell will be made ready and the bodies of all men will be reformed, some to heaven, some to hell." Adam they believe to be the father of all bodies, Mahomet of all spirits. Mahomet, they say, is the last and the seal of God's prophets, and when the Messiah descends from heaven at the end of the world, He will adopt his law.¹⁵ Like us,

¹⁴ See "Kirchenlexikon," by Wetzer and Welte; Boll. Acta Sanctorum; Albankutten, etc.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 33.

they believe that the angels are pure spirits, of no sex, and that there are four archangels—Gabriel, Israfil, Azrael and Michael—and that some of the angels are engaged in perpetual contemplation of the Beatific Vision. They ascribe to Gabriel the work of revelation, to Israfil the sounding of the trumpet, to Azrael the duties of the angel of death and to Michael the seizing of souls. They believe that the angels can appear to men; that four are the guardians of mankind and write down the good and the bad done by them, two acting during the day and two during the night; that good people keep on the right side of the angel (by which Fani intended no “double-entendre”) and the bad remain on their left hand.

After describing the Sadakiahs, a sect of Islam which arose in the thirteenth century, is widely spread and was founded by one Vaked, who taught a sort of evolution, and the Roshenians, another offshoot from the same tree, which sprang up in the sixteenth century, Fani devotes a short chapter to the philosophers, who based their teaching purely on that of Plato and Aristotle, and then he comes to the Sufis or Mystics. He says Sufism belongs to all religions, to the Hindoo, the Arabian and the Persian, and that it seems to be the rationalism of any sort of doctrine.

Several meanings are ascribed to the word Sufi. It is said to mean merely one clothed in wool, from the Arabic “suf,” wool; another derivation given is from the Arabic word “Safu,” the purity to which its adherents are to attain; another is from the Greek word “Sophia,” wisdom, and yet a fourth is from the word “Sufah,” the name of an Arabic tribe. The best exponent of ancient Sufism is Dschonied, who says: “We have not gained Sufismus by arguing, but by fasting, despising the world and by separating from it.” He belonged to the first and best period of Sufism, which extends from Harumal Raschid’s time to the Crusades; but this is the least known to Western scholars, which is the more to be regretted, because upon the principles there inculcated the best hope of the conversion of Islam is founded. The Sufis of that period were enthusiastic seekers after God, who led a life of great mortification, the goal of which was union with Him—a life which had much in common with Christian asceticism and mysticism.¹⁶

Mohsan Fani writes of the second period of Sufism, which is much better known, thanks partly to his “Dabistan,” and which extended from the Crusades to the decline of the first Mongol kingdom, which began soon after his time, that is, the end of the seventeenth century. He divides the Moslem Sufis into four classes—the Orthodox Sufis, the Mystical Sufis, the Pantheistic Sufis and the Egoist Sufis. It sounds very strange to Christian ears to hear a

¹⁶ See “Kirchenlexikon,” Wetzter and Welte, Vol. VI, p. 991.

Mahometan talking about Quietism, but he tells us that Mysticism in the Sufis of a milder character became Quietism. He wrote before Molinos had published his book, "The Spiritual Guide," in 1773, afterwards condemned; but he may have heard of the Quietists of Mount Athos, the Hezychians in the thirteenth century, or, which is more likely, the term may, like the thing itself, be common to Christian and Moslem mystics. It is another proof of the likeness between them, and confirms the assertion quoted above that it is the mystical side of Islam that has most in common with Catholicity and is the most likely to be converted to it.

The Egoist Sufis, whose axiom is "Who knows himself knows God," believe themselves to be gods because God is the highest perfection, and as they become united with Him they become the highest perfection, and as the highest perfection is God, they become God.

Before we close the fascinating pages of this famous old book we must briefly quote a comparative view given by Fani of the five great religions—viz.: Persian, including the Parsian and Zoroastrianism, Hindooism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. As we said above, he omits Buddhism, which in its virgin state is one of the purest and one of the greatest of the world religions. Of the five religions mentioned by Fani, all, he says, hold five great truths; but we must presume that he uses the word emanation in its looser sense and modern sense, for neither Christians nor Mussulmans hold the Eastern doctrine of emanation. With this reservation the five truths are:

1. The emanation of all beings from One Source.
2. The division of supernatural beings into good and bad.
3. The primitive innocence and posterior corruption of mankind.
4. The Deluge.
5. The immortality of the soul, reserved to future beatitude or damnation.

Fani adds that the dogma of the Incarnation of the Deity is held by Christians and Hindoos only; that of Purgatory by Catholics, Jews, Hindoos and Parsees, and that of the resurrection of the body and the judgment by Christians, Magi and Mussulmans. If from the first list we omit the Deluge, which is rather a matter of history and of tradition than of dogma, the four remaining doctrines form the common chord of the scale of faith, of which the keynote is the origin of all beings from One Source, which rising through the mediant and the dominant, culminates in the octave of the immortality of the soul, and sounded by the souls of men, by Christian and Jew, by Parsee and Zoroastrian, by Hindoo and Moslem, makes one grand, glorious and sublime harmony that in a volume of ever

increasing force rises from earth to heaven to the foot of the great white throne of that loving God whose beautiful face all men of every clime, of every age, of every nation have ever yearned to behold. Can the angels themselves make sweeter music?

DARLEY DALE.

MEDIÆVAL MERCENARIES, MODERN BRIGANDS AND THE PAPACY.

IN HIS valuable and scholarly work, "The Great Schism of the West," Professor Salembier, seeking for the causes which led to the long scandal of a plurality of Popes, each claiming validity of election, finds one very potent one in the existence of the mobile mercenary bodies of armed men known as Free Companies. This euphemism was invented to cover up a system just as unprincipled as the contemporary one that flourished in parts of Italy, that of hiring ruffians known as "bravoes" in some places, and "accabadori," or head-knockers, in others. He finds, indeed, that this evil system was the chief cause. The continual wars that desolated Europe, he says, were "more fatal to the Church than the wars of religion. Leaders who were adventurers, ever in search of sword-play and plunder, were for more than a hundred years the terror and disgrace of Christendom. Robert Knolles, John Hawkwood, Arnauld de Cervole, Eustache d' Auberchicourt, Raymond de Turenne, Geoffroy de Boucicault are the leaders of international gangs destitute of faith or pity, without either flag or fatherland. Rival Kings take them into their service; sometimes they get high protection from princes and nobles; and their violence is the terror alike of friend and foe. Fire and pillage devastate episcopal and monastic buildings, and give rise to every sort of temporal disturbance and every kind of moral decay. Bishops cease to visit their dioceses; prelates forsake their residences, ruined by the new barbarism. They fly to Paris or to the Court of Avignon, and Gregory XI. is forced to fulminate against them to induce them to return to their duties. . . . The abbeys have lost all their revenues, and some of them have been burnt down two or three times. Their lands, abandoned by the peasants, are no longer cultivated, the monastic possessions are alienated, churches no longer receive any assistance from the faithful, and chapters are reduced to pauperism. . . . Everywhere the holiness of the religious life is under eclipse."

The system of hiring those dangerous auxiliaries is very old—so very old, in fact, that its origin is lost in the twilight of history. It was a barbarian army, mercenary warriors, maddened at non-receipt of their pay, that sacked Carthage in the time of Hamilcar Barca. In Europe we can easily trace it back to the beginning of the feudal system. Every baron called in a band of free lances whenever he declared war against a neighbor and rival. The Normans were for long nothing more than hired free lances. Duke William, who conquered England, was at the head of one of these mercenary companies, foraging in Italy, when he received the news of the approaching end of King Edward and hastened to meet and entrap his chosen successor, Harold, the son of Godwin. Some of the mediæval Popes even did not hesitate to call in the captains of the free companies when Venice made war upon the Papacy. In Italy these captains were styled *condottieri*. Some of them were very able soldiers, but they could not always depend upon their men to fight as they had undertaken they should, for on more than one occasion their apparent fighting was as unreal and ridiculous as that of present-day pugilists who go into the ring with a perfect understanding at what moment or what blow the one shall go down and the other be declared the victor. Sometimes the free lance waited until the tide of battle was on the turn and then, betraying his trust, went over to the other side and helped to defeat his employer. A very graphic picture of the free lance and his ways is to be found in Bulwer Lytton's fine historical story, "Rienzi, the Last of the Roman Tribunes."

When Philip of Valois concluded peace with England, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the number of mercenary soldiers who were disbanded was so large that the peace became worse to the inhabitants than the war that was ended. They roved the country in powerful bands, plundering and ravishing as they went, and at length sat down in regular siege before the walls of Avignon. The Pope was eventually obliged to give the leaders an immense sum of money to induce them to move off.

In the time of Charles V. the free companies had again become so formidable a support to the Crown that the King entered into a war with Spain and put the great De Guesclin at the head of the free companies with a view to giving them real employment, as he knew the Constable would make them fight and earn their pay. Although he was defeated near Najara, it is said the King was not at all sorry, since nearly all the free lances were annihilated in the battle.

One of the most famous Italian houses is that of Sforza, and this had its rise in a mediæval condottier, Mutius Sforza. He was a peasant, but a man of genius and daring, as well as enormous physi-

cal strength—whence the name, which was merely a nickname, the real one being Giacomuzzo Attendolo. By his military prowess and talents he secured the favor of Queen Joanna of Naples and was made Lord High Constable of that kingdom. There were many more of the condottieri who played great parts in the Middle Ages' wars and founded houses that were long ranked as illustrious. But these exceptions serve only to illustrate the fact that the principle out of which they sprang was simply one of circumscribed and modified anarchy. Every one of them fought, like Hal of the Wynd, for his own hand.

Ever since the State became friendly to the Church—that is to say, in the reign of Constantine—conditions which hampered the Church in her rightful work began to grow and increase with the years. The State laid its hand heavily upon the Church, in return for the protection the Emperors afforded it. Upon the Archbishops of Milan, for instance, devolved the duty of arranging for the defense and civil administration of the city and the territory outside. Such prelates were electors, and as such exercised the rights of sovereign princes in their own particular States. The Lombard cities generally were similarly situated, regarding their government, in the Middle Ages. Their local Bishops had the responsibility of defending them either against foreign invaders or against neighboring and rival municipalities. This responsibility was laid upon them by the German Emperors, in whose election they were official participants, or by the Kings of Italy, and by whose authority they levied war or made treaties of peace, as the case suited. Having no regular armies, but only local militia, or trained bands, these cities were often glad to get the help of some powerful captain of a free company, whose roving life had given him a wide knowledge of the various States and cities of the Italian plains and other countries of Europe, and an intimate acquaintance with the military resources of those States or cities he might find it to be his lot to fight for or fight against. Even the Popes of the Middle Ages were glad at times to have the services—we do not say the help, for sometimes the auxiliary was more dangerous to the employer than to the enemy—of some of the free companies.

It is highly probable that the Church might have been spared the great scandal thrust upon her during the period of the Western Schism—the spectacle of rival Popes—if these mercenary fighting bands had no existence. From the beginning of the schism, in 1378, until its close, in 1418, the free lance bands figure in many chapters of the dismal story. Their first appearance is in connection with the beginning of the opposition to Urban VI., the first Pope of the stormy period. To him the fortress of San Angelo then held by

Pierre Gandelin, refused to open its gates. Within it was the Papal treasure, which had been removed thither by Peter de Cros, brother of the Cardinal de Limoges, on the death of Pope Gregory XI. As soon as the opposition began to take definite shape, six of the dissentient Cardinals took refuge within the fortress and placed themselves under the lead of Cardinal John de la Grange, Bishop of Amiens, whom Urban had converted from a friend into a bitter enemy by reason of his furious temper and unfortunate wealth of vituperative eloquence. This Cardinal was an especial favorite of the French King, Charles V., because of his great talents, his gifts of diplomacy and financial science; and his defection was the primary cause of Urban's final defeat and overthrow. Under his leadership the revolt against Urban was organized and put into effective shape for aggressive action. The captain of mercenaries, Bernardon de la Salle, a former companion of the great De Guesclin, was sent for, and a bargain made with him for the defense of the castle. His lancers lost no time in rallying to his call. They were Gascons and Navarrese chiefly, and men inured to war. They charged upon the Roman troops guarding the Salaro bridge, and speedily put them to flight. Then they proceeded to San Angelo, and formed its garrison pending the measures that Urban might take to assert his authority. Thus we find the mercenaries playing a most important part at the very opening of the schism. Were it not for their proximity to Rome, at that unfortunate moment, the Schism might indeed have proved to be an abortive movement—for, despite his unfortunate temper, Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, before he became Urban VI., was esteemed highly for scholarship, integrity of character and sanctity of life. After that event he underwent a great change. Opposition enraged him, and adversity made him morose and furious—a result which ultimately detached almost everybody from his cause.

At the instigation of the King of France, the revolting Cardinals issued a declaration against the election of Urban, on the ground that it was effected under the pressure of fear of death from the Roman populace. They subsequently excommunicated Urban and pronounced sentence of deposition against him. Then they held a new election and chose Robert of Geneva to be Pope. He took the title of Clement VII. The most serious objection urged against this choice, before the ballots were taken, was that he had let loose a band of foreign mercenaries against the town of Casena, which had rebelled against the Pope, and that he had excused the frightful excesses committed by these lawless soldiers when they had gained possession of the town. Hence the new Pope was regarded more as the leader of condottieri than a representative of the Prince of Peace.

Urban's reply to this action was another bull of excommunication, directed against Clement and all who had taken part in his election. This was the beginning of the great Schism. Henceforth it was to be war all over Europe and war of the worst kind—a war of religion. State was arrayed against State, and city against city; and a glorious time for the free lances was opened up—a time that lasted for forty years. The mercenaries had their pick and choice of employers, and could get any scale of pay they wished to ask for.

Urban died after leading a stormy existence, roaming about from one fortress to another, and giving over to rapine by his mercenaries many of the northern Italian towns that stood out against him. The Cardinals who had supported Urban elected as his successor the Cardinal of Naples, Peter Thomacelli, who took the title of Boniface IX. Clement, too, died soon afterward, and the Avignon Cardinals elected Peter de Luna, of Aragon, formerly Papal Legate, who took the name of Benedict XIII. After some time the French King withdrew from his allegiance to Benedict, and so did a number of the Cardinals at Avignon. Benedict prepared to defend himself by putting the great Papal palace into the condition of a fortress and laying in vast stores of provisions and munitions of war. The Cardinals in revolt sent for a desperate adventurer, Goeffrey de Boucicault, and engaged him to conduct siege operations against the pseudo Pope. The people of Avignon did not sympathize with Benedict and his warlike procedure. They opened the gates to Boucicault and the horde of desperate hirelings who followed his standard for the sake of plunder. Nay, more: these unsympathetic townsfolk joined the free lances in their attacks on the palace-fortress. They were incited to this action by the Cardinal of Neufchâtel, who, throwing aside his robes, donned a suit of armor and rode through the streets urging the citizens on to the attack. Mines were sprung below the castle, and the defenders met these with counter-mines; bombards and Greek fire were discharged by the garrison at the assailants, as they came forward; great catapults flung enormous stones at the gates from the works of the besiegers, and Benedict himself, who conducted the defense with untiring energy and courage, was wounded while repelling an assault. The siege dragged on without much progress, owing to the stubbornness of the defense, but the garrison was being decimated by death, wounds and hunger; and at last an armistice was agreed on, until messengers from the besieged Pope had had time to proceed to Paris and seek the intervention of the King to put an end to the deadlock and endeavor to close the Schism by putting pressure on both claimants to the tiara to resign.

While many of the leaders of the free companies were, in their

way, chivalrous men and stout soldiers, this Geoffrey de Boucicault appears to have been the very worst sort of a freebooter. He is called a ruffian by historians, and he seems to have deserved the opprobrious epithet, since his conduct was worse than that of the modern bandit who carries off people of wealth for the purpose of getting money for their ransom. He seized the persons of the Cardinals of Pampeluna and St. Adrian, in the year 1398, and kept them prisoners until their friends sent a heavy sum for their release. While he was Governor of the Dauphiné, from 1399 to 1404, his irregularities and exactions were so glaring and intolerable that he was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Amiens, in the latter year. Twenty years later he was prosecuted, by order of the King, for his many crimes in office. He obtained, however, from Pope Martin V. a pardon for his excesses in Avignon, on promise of amendment and restitution. But his repentance did not last long, for two years later he began his career of outrage anew in the same vicinity. But happily that career was cut short very soon afterward. He died in the year 1429.

Historians wonder how it came to pass that the revolted Cardinals could choose such a desperado as Geoffrey as their instrument to compel the abdication of a Pope. One of the first explanations is that he had a brother the very reverse of himself in reputation—a renowned warrior and Crusader, Jean de Boucicault, who in the service of the Byzantine Empire did great things in resistance to the encroachments of the Turks. Though Geoffrey had done disgraceful deeds in his younger days, the wild and unsettled state of society, consequent on the upheaval at Rome, might seem to furnish an excuse for many excesses on the part of men who were frequently called upon to deal with popular outbreaks as well as keep rogues and highwaymen from paralyzing all the commercial life of the continent. Then, again, the action of the King in regard to the Pope had established a conflict of claims to authority that seemed to have the effect of dulling the minds even of churchmen as to the lines of the spiritual and the civil authority. These evil years were those in which the noxious weed, Gallicanism, first began to spring up in the garden of the Church. The aim of the King was to set aside the Pope, to get along in everything without the Pope—to ignore his authority, even his very existence; and in this audacious project the King, strange to say, had support and encouragement in the ranks of clerics and theologians of the French nation and doctors of the Paris University—an institution then largely under English influence. At the Council of Paris, in 1398, it was decided that those who withdrew from obedience to the Pope should transfer that obedience to the King, as they were bound to conform to his will,

and he would relieve them of all scruples and become responsible for their conscience! Here was Gallicanism with a vengeance! It was little wonder that with such a confusion of tenets on authority, men's mental vision became so blurred that they were not fastidious, sometimes and in some places, as to what means or agents they utilized to achieve ends which they deemed necessary to their own safety or the safety of the community or nation. A similar indirect claim to infallibility was put forward, later on, by the English monarch, Henry VIII., and those who resisted it were treated to the argument of the headsman's axe.

The Avignon Pope put an end, for the time being, to this insanity-breeding dilemma in France by suddenly abandoning his resistance at Avignon and taking flight from the city. In this he was assisted by another leader of free lances, the Norman Knight, Captain Robert de Braquemont. Having stolen away from the castle in disguise, he was met by a band of four hundred armed men, followers of the Knight, and conveyed by them up the Rhone until he came within the dominions of the King of Sicily, at Chateau Renard. These liberators are not described in the narrative as free lances, it is true, but such would appear to be their real character. They were Normans, and the Normans of that period, and long antecedent to it, were always ready for any enterprise that promised booty or substantial reward or advancement.

It can never be forgotten that it was a body of Norman free lances that began, without any authoritative commission, the enterprise which resulted in the Anglo-Norman conquest of part of Ireland. James Fitzstephen, who began the adventure, was the son of a Norman who had married a Welsh princess, not for her reputation, which was the reverse of good, but for her wealth and position. Many of the Norman leaders who followed Strongbow and Henry II. later on were adventurers like him, who cared little on what soil or for what cause they fought so long as there was profit in it. Even the noble house of Fitzgerald, in Ireland, would appear to have had its origin in the system of the military hireling. The poet Davis traced their origin as far back as the Italian wars of the Dark Ages, for he finds them fighting in the vineyards of Tuscany, as the Ghirardini, a thousand years before he wrote his pæan of praise of the gens.

When the new Pope, Martin V. (who, under God, was ordained to put an end to the Great Schism), returned to Rome he found the country about devastated by the bands of the condottieri, and, as a result of their oppressive exactions, he also found that brigandage had become endemic in the Campagna. His first task was to dispose of the cause. He induced a large number of the cities and

towns which kept these dangerous auxiliaries in their employment to make peace, unite for the common good and dismiss their mercenary hangers-on. His wise and vigorous action put an end for the nonce to the employment of the condottieri in Italy; but it was not so easy to stamp out the moral poison of brigandage. There was, in fact, a close connection between these two pests. M. Tournon, the Commissioner for the Papal States under the French invasion, has much interesting matter in his report on his four years' administration, relative to the origin of brigandage. He finds that certain districts are noted for the propensity of their inhabitants to violent and sanguinary deeds, and the banditti who infest these places are the natural outgrowth of the feudal system, under which the great barons trained their vassals to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed. It was not until the time of Pope Sixtus V. that these factional barons were put down, but the brigandage survived until long after, nor has it entirely disappeared even yet. Before the "unification" of the Italian peninsula—the euphemism for the absorption of the Papal States and the city of Rome by the Sardinian monarchy—it was a favorite device of the assailants of the Papacy to fling the existence of brigandage at the Church as a reason why its rule should no longer be tolerated. The Papacy might with equal justice have been blamed for the existence of the maremma or the eruptions of Vesuvius. Brigandage was the heritage of centuries of wars and the conflict of civilization with the *dissecta membra* of ancient barbarism. Even so far back as the time of Cicero one district in the Campagna was noted as being the haunt of *banditti* and men of violent and uncontrollable temper. This was the region adjoining the Alban Hills and bordering the Pomptine Marshes. "Noctu invidioso," he says, in the oration "Pro Milone," "et pleno latronum in loco occidisse," regarding the little town of Bovillæ, at the foot of those hills. The Papal Government, as long as it was free from outside interference, kept brigandage well in check within its borders, but when the Sardinian Monarchy began its encroachments the border territory became the nursing ground of desperadoes who were needed at times to form an excuse for the complaint that the Papal Government was not strong enough to maintain tranquillity or afford security to the traveling public within its territory. In M. Tournon's book on the Papal States we find it stated that after the French took possession of Rome in 1809, the number of banditti in the hills between that city and Naples had increased to an alarming extent; and this increase M. Tournon attributed to the confusion that had long existed in the government of the country owing to the conflict of two powers—the Papal authority and the French. In other words, the responsibility for the existence of the banditti in large

numbers lay at Napoleon's door, while he and other invaders made that very fact one of the excuses they put forward for seizing the Pope's territory. The disturbed state of the Roman borders was pleaded by the Italian Government sixty years later, when Cavour prepared to make his memorable coup with the help of Lord Palmerston and other eminent friends of freedom. In one village, named Giulano, near Mount Lepini, there were twelve desperate outlaws; in Santo Stefano, Prossedi, Supino and Sonnino there were several bands equally well known and equally formidable to travelers and residents. When the Pope was enabled to return to Rome, and Cardinal Gonsalvi was given the helm of State, he found about a hundred desperadoes in complete control of the roads between the capital and Naples, and in order to root them out and exterminate them—which he completely succeeded in having done—it became necessary to level the whole village of Giulano to the ground, so that no more of the outlaws might find an asylum there.

It had been charged against the Papal Government that the existence of the banditti was due to either a connivance with their misdeeds on the part of certain functionaries or else a weakness in dealing with them that was as culpable as connivance or condonation. Acting on this assumption, the French commanders formed a gendarmerie to hunt down the outlaws, and dismissed the old Papal guards or *sbirri*. Some of the bandits were captured and executed, but the greater part made their way into inaccessible mountain fastnesses, keeping quiet for a considerable time, and thereby enabling the French invaders to boast that they had brought order and security to the Papal States. The quiet was illusory. After a couple of years of French rule, the bandits were again heard from. They appeared in considerable numbers in several places, widely separated, almost simultaneously. They spread terror almost to the gates of Rome; while away in the north as far as Tuscany, Parma and Genoa, bands, which found shelter in the spurs of the Apennines, made the vicinities of these and other cities more dangerous than they had been since the end of the Middle Ages. The French invasion was the direct cause of the increase in disorder. In the first place, the dismissal of the entire Roman police; in the second, the introduction of the law of conscription—a system previously unknown in Italy. Many members of the old *sbirri*, thrown out of employment, and unable to turn their hands to civil pursuits, went to join those whom they had formerly kept at bay or hunted down; while large numbers of young men in the north fled from the cities and the rural districts to avoid the roll of the conscription drum.

Like the French demimonde the Italian bandit had established for himself a certain social status. Beginning his career as an outlaw by the perpetration of some deed springing from his fiery blood and his ungovernable temper, his flight to the mountain caves was excused by his former friends in the city or the village. The place around which he hung to eke out a living was generally sure to afford him furtive help, for the people sympathized with him where they did not fear his vengeance in case of refusal. The neighbors cultivated for him his abandoned fields; the village shopkeepers gave him food and other necessary supplies; the goatherds and cattle keepers formed a chain of signalmen to warn him of the approach of danger from the garrison; he was regarded not as a thief and a scoundrel, but as a victim of unfortunate circumstances and the passions which are the common heritage of the meridional races. In return for all these friendly offices the local bandit was usually good enough to abstain from plundering the villagers who rendered them, and reserved his attentions for travelers or the people of villages at a distance. But woe to the villager who betrayed him, or whom he suspected of such base treachery to the traditional principles of the outlaw amenities. His cottage was given to the flames, his crops destroyed and he himself waylaid and done to death, by slow torture often, if time permitted the indulgence of such sweet revenge on the part of the aggrieved outlaw, as he believed himself to be, and indeed as the vast majority of the people about him also considered him. This perverted notion of honor, as it appears to order-loving citizens of a constitutionally governed country, was not, under the circumstances, so paradoxical as it looks on the surface. When we consider that the men who from honest peasants were transformed in banditti were driven from their homes by the French invaders, in later times, or, as mercenaries, dispersed, penniless and homeless, at the close of the mediæval wars, by the regular troops of the Austrian Emperor or the Papal States, we must allow a good deal for the principle of self-preservation in the breasts of men and also for the unsettled codes of morality then almost universally existent. Men knew not who was the true Pope and who the false; they beheld persons in high place as well as low indifferent about the law of *meum* and *tuum*; right was called wrong, and wrong was called right. This had been the case while the great Western Schism lasted. The public reason of Europe was, in fact, unbalanced by reason of a long nightmare of horror and internecine strife. The banditti were the natural progeny of such a monstrous parturition. Similarly, when the French invaders drove the rulers of the Italian Republics from their capitals and substituted the rule of the sword for that of the Dukes and Doges, the men who fled to

avoid the conscription believed that they were the friends of freedom and society when they took to the hills, and as such were perfectly justified in preying upon the enemy whenever it was possible to do so, and preying upon anybody else when it was not. To those who befriended him in his greatest need the bandit was not ungrateful, but often most generous in rendering them help in times of distress and protecting them from attack by enemies or stranger bandits. Often, too, he was generous in almsgiving to the indigent, like the followers of Robin Hood. The character of the typical bandit is, indeed, presented with much fidelity in the humorous opera called "Fra Diavolo," save that it fails to give one side of the daring marauder's character which it is difficult to reconcile with the facts of so lawless a life, but which, nevertheless, has been vouched for by witnesses whom he had held for ransom. This is his devoutly religious feeling. Often the bandit was fanatically devout as well as grossly superstitious, carrying his rosary and his blessed medals always about him and paying furtive visits to some favorite shrine to make a vow or make a little offering for the good of his soul—or, more marvelous still, for the success of some marauding enterprise in contemplation. It is difficult to believe that so startling a contradiction could be found in the life of any reasoning individual; yet the phenomenon is attested by so many respectable witnesses that it is hard to say it is incredible.

The conventional type of outlaw has now almost entirely disappeared, but the lawless spirit it represented still exists, but under different forms. The secret societies of Italy, such as the Carbonari and the Mafia had their origin in the same sort of conditions which produced the older order of banditti. At first directed against the evils of foreign rule, they struck their terrific blows against French and Austrian agents during the long period of Mazzini's agitation, but gradually extended the system of terrorism to their own countrymen in the south until it produced a sort of *imperium in imperio* in Calabria and many districts of Sicily. It is even now so strongly intrenched in Naples that the Italian Government has had lately to send warships to threaten the city because of the commotion excited by the arrest and imprisonment of the ex-Minister Nasi, a fellow-countryman. The Sicilians have been clannish and haters of foreigners ever since the time of Charles of Anjou and the memorable "Vespers" holocaust.

During the existence of the Papal Government it was customary for travelers and writers to hold that government responsible for the existence of brigandage, even though it was confessed that the brigands had no difficulty in crossing the border into territory that was claimed by other governments, such as the Sardinian. The

Italian Government of to-day finds itself unable to cope with the form of brigandage instituted by the Mafia, yet the fact passes almost without notice by foreign critics. This fact only shows that such critics usually write with an animus. There would be some danger to European peace were the internal troubles of Italy brought too prominently before the world just now, and so matters are allowed to drift, even though to the defeat of justice and the defiance of orderly government.

If there were ever any real justice in the complaint of European governments that the Papal Government failed in its duty in dealing with the marauders who made traveling in the Papal States unsafe, there is certainly the strongest reason for an indictment against the Italian Government of to-day because of the danger to ecclesiastical visitors in the streets of Rome. The outrages against Cardinal Merry del Val and the Abbé Gasquet would in themselves constitute a *casus belli* in case the parties insulted had been civil representatives of any outside sovereign State. Many other outrages occurred during the carnival of popular license begotten of recent Bruno and Garibaldian demonstrations, but no power, either Catholic or non-Catholic, outside Italy, ventured to address a remonstrance against those glaring infractions of the Law of Guarantees.

Of the system of government which prevailed throughout the Papal States, M. Tournon wrote:

"The system of municipal administration will surprise those who imagine that in the Papal States everything is left to the will or caprice of the government. Abuses of power are common, no doubt; but the written law is more favorable to the liberties of the people than is commonly supposed."

Regarding the disposition of the people, when left to themselves, toward the Papal Government, M. Tournon's book afforded the most valuable sort of testimony. He pointed out that while on the northern border there were unsettled conditions of mind consequent on the irruption of agitators from outside, in the south everything was profoundly quiet and the people most contented. The inhabitants had been long accustomed to look up to the Pope and his government as truly paternal; there were peace, plenty and a happy temperament everywhere; provisions were cheap and abundant; the climate fit for paradise; the peasants' life was like a beautiful dream in the loveliest of countries. They were so content that when in 1831 some disturbers came from Bologna to stir up rebellion the people took up arms at Rieti, and drove them out twice, disappointed and chagrined at such want of "patriotism."

The Papacy is indispensable to the peace of the world. It is perfectly unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of this proposi-

tion; it is a truth demonstrated by fifteen centuries of the world's history. The Papacy is indestructible by human power, because it rests on a foundation not of the earth. The destruction of Rome as a city never meant the destruction of the Papacy; the seizure and imprisonment of a Pope, the chaining of one to the chariot wheels of a conqueror, as more than once was effected, almost in a literal sense, meant nothing more than a transient victory of brute force over the impalpable and intangible power of the spiritual soul of the world. We have among the Catholic body many who believe that the Temporal Power is dead beyond the hope of restoration. It were well that they read the history of the past five hundred years. Several times during that period it was believed that Rome had fallen forever, and the Papacy as dead as the ancient Cæsardom. When Bonaparte seized Rome, hauled the Papal flag down from the Castle of San Angelo and ran up the tricolor in its place, most people believed that the prophecy of the Colosseum was about to be negatived by the fact. Rome had fallen and the Colosseum still stood. But a few years showed that it was not Rome that fell, but the bubble Empire that decreed its fall. The milk-white hind, "oft doomed to death, yet fated not to die," was realized, allegorically, in the relation of the Papacy to Rome, and in the case of Rome, again, and the outside world. Its necessity to that world's well-being and tranquillity was recognized and confessed when the allied powers met in council at Vienna, after the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo.

The statistics of a great city's population from decade to decade may be likened to the breathings of the human system on the doctor's stethoscope. They record the rise and fall of the country's health with equal mathematical regularity. The fluctuations in the Roman census for the past few centuries tell of the violent seismic movements in the great world of political action and social struggle, on the Italian peninsula as well as the Continent of Europe, in a very remarkable way. In speaking of the population of Rome it is necessary to be as circumspect as in adverting to the population of seaside resorts: both are affected by the seasons, by sudden invasions of tourists, by causes outside the ordinary everyday life of humdrum, quiet places of human settlement. No city of first rank has encountered such radical fluctuations in regard to numbers and well-being as the city of Rome, since the removal of the imperial capital to the banks of the Bosphorus. Old chroniclers estimated its population, in the heyday of its pagan glory, at a couple of millions. The first reliable census, since the beginning of the modern epoch, was that of 1198, under Pope Innocent III., which showed the population to be 35,000 only. This was low enough estate for the place that had for centuries been known as the mistress of the world, but lower

still came when the Popes held court at Avignon. Then the nadir was touched in the figures 17,000. When the Pope returned, in 1377, there was an immediate rise in the tide, until in the time of Leo X. the census showed a total of 60,000. The storming of the city by the French, under the Constable of Bourbon, in 1527, made a great gap in the population, either by death or flight; only 33,000 showed on the succeeding census. Under the vigorous rule of Sixtus V. city and country were given security and peace, and the urban numbers rose again and kept steadily increasing from that period onward to the first French invasion of the revolutionary epoch. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of the city was 138,000, having quadrupled in the course of 150 years. In 1730 it was 145,000; in 1750, 157,000; in 1775, 165,000. Then came the French invasions, and with them renewal of the old story of decline and disaster. By 1800 the population had dwindled to 153,000; by 1805 it had still further fallen, showing only 135,000; and by 1810, during the imprisonment of Pius VII. in France, only 123,000 remained in the city, and of these, according to the official showing, 30,000 were paupers living on charity or the public taxation. Bankruptcy and ruin came to noble, banker, merchant and mechanic alike, during the twelve dreadful years of the French republican and imperial despotism. Had this not interrupted the city's course of advance, at the end of the twelve years which it embraced, there should have been more than 200,000 inhabitants in the city.

The return of the Pope once more brought a renewal of growth in the city's population, for in 1815, the succeeding year, the census showed 128,000 souls resident therein; in 1820, it showed 135,000; and in 1831, 150,000. By 1846 the population numbered 180,000, but the revolutionary movement in 1848, which drove the Pope to Gaeta, turned the increase into a decline, for when the census was taken again, in 1852, it had fallen to 175,000. When this trouble was over and the Pope was enabled to return to his rule, the period of tranquillity was marked by a resumption of the onward movement, for by 1858 the figures again rose to 180,000. Thus it will be seen that the population of the Eternal City had always been dependent on the permanence of its government, and its prosperity on its population. During the many enforced absences of the Popes the city had always fallen into a state of dilapidation and insecurity. These conditions were in themselves melancholy enough, but the wild exaggerations of unfriendly travelers multiplied the evil a hundred fold.

In M. Tournon's interesting report he took care to censure and confute the misrepresentations of travelers, including a rather dis-

tinguished fellow-countryman, M. Bonstetten, as to the limited industries of the Roman population. These industries, they gave out, were chiefly confined to "the manufacture of beads, rosaries, agnus deis, relics and indulgences"—whatever the latter might mean as a substantial "industry." In the year 1813, M. Tournon's statistics showed, there were 682 factories and workshops in Rome. The woolen industry alone gave employment to 2,000 workmen; while the silk factories, the linen factories, tanneries, paper mills, iron foundries, potteries and various other classes of workshops employed many other thousands.

In a preceding paper in the *QUARTERLY* the strong testimony borne by this Commissary of Napoleon's to the admirable institutions of Rome, especially those of education and the relief of the poor, was briefly summarized and commented on. It proved that the ancient capital of the Popes amply reflected the enlightenment and humanity of the system of which the Papacy is the illustrious centre and head.

What a contrast is presented by the Rome of to-day! What charity, what enlightenment can be looked for from a *régime* dominated by infidel Freemasonry?

Does any Catholic who has studied the history of Rome genuinely believe that there is finality in the present arrangement, or rather derangement? "Accomplished facts" is a phrase that has been overmuch emphasized. It is an unsafe rule of calculation as to the future. In no instance is it so misleading, so unwarranted, as in regard to the centre of the Papacy. In the inscrutable ways of God, the mutations which, in regard to other sovereignties denoted the annihilations of old-established dynasties and the complete overthrow of systems and ideas which they represented, have passed again and again over the firmament of the Eternal City, but the wave that swept out the Papacy has invariably borne it back in triumph on its crest, sooner or later. This is the history of Christian Rome; and it seems unlikely that it shall be brought to an end as long as the Church has a mission to fulfill on the face of the earth.

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LENDING MONEY WITHOUT INTEREST.

THE present paper has a very limited scope, indeed, and begins by deprecating any expectation that it will try to solve the question why the Church, after so long forbidding interest on money, now allows it to be taken. We admit that in the interval facts have changed, but no one will say that money had no commercial use at all during the long ago in which the mediæval law was upheld.

As a suggestion for those who will apply it as far as they find it applicable, we may refer to Aristotle's "Ethics" (V., 7), where he distinguished rights into natural and institutional or positive. Having made the division, he signifies that it has not absolute rigidity "except perhaps among the gods; among ourselves there is indeed that which is right by nature; nevertheless, always with some mutability."

The Sertart version—and that of the immoderate Scotist Ockham—is that while the commandments of the first table, ordering man to keep a religious attitude to God without a shadow of irreverence, is yet beyond any dispensing power, the second table prescribing men's relations *inter se* is not so unexceptional, but needs admixture or determination of this positive law, with some variation in the matter as circumstances change. Such is the loaning of money; such also is the control of the temporal power by the spiritual. If, then, we say that these two last concerns rest on immutable principles, that is true, yet not with the rigidity of "Thou shalt not have false gods," "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." God could not so dispense with His rights as to allow a man to blaspheme, but He may, as Supreme Lord, give leave to spoil the Egyptians or to sacrifice Isaac; for He holds eminent dominion over property and life.

So much of prefatory remark will, it is hoped, move the reader to accept what follows as only a confined outlook upon a much wider question which can be examined only in its long and complex history. It is left for other pages to discuss whether money has changed its nature or the Church her law, or both one and the other, between the Council of Vienne, which reaffirmed the old order, and our own times, when religious houses that are commercially unproductive have often to live on interest from capital. Those who keep to the notion that there is nothing new under the sun deny that money has assumed simply a new character since classical and mediæval days, when commerce was fairly developed; they are content to assert simply an immense growth of a previously living use.

Others prefer the aspect that money to-day has a new application warranting a new law.

Among the mediæval scholastics there was recognized a form of gratuitous contract in which the lender of money imposed on the borrower no other obligation than that of returning the equivalent of the sum, often at a fixed date. This was called *contractus mutui*, which was counted gratuitous in contrast to the *contractus fenebris*, or the loan upon interest. It is not so much that to-day the former has developed into the latter as that the latter has sprung up into admitted existence out of germs that were visible long ago and found at least some recognition on the permitted practice of *locatio* and *clusus*.

No one will deny that in the relation between man and man there is occasion for the charity of a disinterested loan, and that for it there sometimes arises a distinct obligation, though this is not technically one of justice. Before rendering such a service the benefactor is supposed by St. Thomas fairly to weigh the urgency of the call by the side of his own ability to meet its demands at the cost of a self-renunciation. Such contract if called onerous is especially so on the side of the lender, who as a benefactor is generally burdened by his act,¹ being deprived for a time of the uses of his money and exposed perhaps to some risk of losing it in part or in the whole. But these inconveniences do not enter into the *contractus mutui* as such; if there is any bargain about them, it is on another score, as we shall see later. To the hard man of business the *contractus mutui* when duly explained is simply a reminder how far away it lies from his sphere of operations. It is a mode of almsgiving, which like all such charities, should be judicious and should not be done with results which are rather mischievous than beneficial to the community at large. One consideration that is apt to dry up the sources of almsgiving is the unfortunate fact that it does so easily miscarry in its general results.

Money once lent becomes, as St. Thomas says, the property of the new possessor, and therefore for him it fructifies—*res fructificat domino*. But the normal end of the *contractus mutui* is not that it should bring large profits, or even any profit at all. Its natural purpose is to tide a man over a difficulty, to help a lame dog over a stile and, furthermore, if possible, to cure his lameness. The typical speculator is not the person for whom the free loan is designed, and when he applies, one may with a calm conscience send him about his business, often without any commendation of this same business of his.

¹ Here we do not deal with the technical meaning of *contractus onerosus*; the borrower is under the burden to repay the loan.

It will now be evident that the *contractus mutui* allows of no interest so far as concerns its intrinsic nature. And the mention of the word intrinsic is very important. Always when we talk of intrinsic or extrinsic we should have a definite term of reference, for it is idle to speak about inside and outside in relation to nothing in particular. Let us then see some possible claims to interest which lie *outside* the *contractus mutui* considered in its own nature of a free loan made by a charitable man who helps a neighbor with a sum of money on the sole condition of equal repayment of the original quantity at a fixed date.

1. There is the *legal title* on which the law is conceived to give a right otherwise non-existent to demand interest. Some of the Schoolmen admit this right, but with a special understanding which will at once appear necessary. St. Thomas rejects it, yet not from every point of view. In self-consistency he maintains that if free loan is to remain free loan it must not be paid for, even by order of the law. An extrinsic price must not expose an intrinsic principle of charity.

2. While such a law would obviously be extrinsic, a less obvious case under the same category is the *Damnum emergens*, or loss arising out of lending the money. This loss the gratuitous *mutuator* is supposed to accept after duly considering his own position. In English law we have for sales the enactment *Caveat Emptor*—let a purchaser look to his own concern in a bargain; so in free loans there is an implied *caveat mutuator*. "He who lends money," says St. Thomas, "De Malo," Q. XIII., A. 4 ad 4, "ought to have a care how he suffers thereby." At the same time St. Thomas allows that foreseen losses may be made matter of a special contract outside the *mutuum*, and herein he supports a part of the modern theory about lawful interest. "He who furnishes the *mutuum* may justly bargain for compensation to cover loss of his rights, for this is not to sell the use of money, but to avoid loss. But the mere foregoing of gain should not be introduced into the bargain, since no man should sell what he does not yet possess" (2 da 2 dd, A. 2 ad 1).²

The last words here are excessive and St. Thomas does not quite abide by them elsewhere.

3. A third extrinsic title is *lucrum cessans*, which, as we have just seen, St. Thomas will not allow to enter into the gratuitous contract, but he might have allowed by the side of this contract another, especially if the borrower were likely to see better days and would consent to add an agreement to compensate for lost gains if ever he should be in a position easily to do so. So far as the free

² St. Thomas also allows a charge for the delay of repayment beyond the stipulated time.

loan is concerned, that of itself admits no such obligation within its own proper purview.

4. The fourth of the extrinsic grounds is the *periculum torts*, or risk of losing the capital through the misfortune or through the fault of the borrower. The allowance and the disallowance of it may be settled on principles already stated.

If we return now to interest, taken on whatever plea, no doubt in regard to it there was before the mind of the mediævalists the fact that the Jew was forbidden to take interest from the Jew, and therefore Christians, with their wide brotherhood, seemed bound not to fall below their Jewish predecessors. Moreover, there were the strong words of Christ which appeared to sacrifice even the capital; and if these are in part of counsel, they are also in part of precept: "Lend, hoping for nothing in return:" *mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes* (Luke vi., 35). From the Fathers might be gathered by mediæval theologians at least detached sentences seeming to condemn all interest on money as guiltily usurious. In his uncompromising way St. Chrysostom lays it down that as for the Jews it was forbidden to take interest from Jews, so for Christians from Christians.³ What these preachers specially denounced was the actual state of things at their own time, when they saw carried out in practice an immoderately high demand of interest; and on complaining of facts they did not stop nicely to define theories. As to the mediæval Church, it must be admitted that its legislation was restrictive of practices now tolerated. The fact that there had occurred a relaxation of the old rule is apparent, for instance, in the answer sent by the Congregation of the Inquisition to a French Bishop August 15, 1830, admitting that persons taking a moderate rate of interest on their money were not to be interfered with—*non esse inquietandos*. The sender of the question, who wanted to stop the perplexing results from different confessors within his diocese giving different solutions to their penitents, was less accurate in his wording when he spoke of the loans on interest as *mutuum*, a term which in strictness belongs to the gratuitous contract. However, the history of the gradually diminishing rigor of the Church in this matter under the much older character of money transactions is quite beyond the scope of the present paper.

But we are here concerned with a special lesson to be learned from the freely made loan as an act of charity, which St. Thomas distinguished from the investments which he called *locatio*,⁴ for in-

³ "Hom. XLI. in Gen.," Migne, tom. 53, col. 376-379. As summing up previous patristic doctrine, may be quoted St. Ambrose "de Tobia," Migne, tom. 14, col. 756. St. Jerome, as usual, is severe in his utterances, tom. 15, col. 176. See St. Augustine, tom. 36, col. 356.

⁴ St. Thomas "De Malo," Q. XIII. a 4 ad 15. The Scholastics allowed interest to be taken under the names of census and societor, rent and partnership—even sleeping partnership.

stance, lending gold coin for show, like gold plate, or putting it into a business managed by another person. What he protested against was the enforced payment for an act of charity, after a gratuitous contract to that effect had been or ought to have been made. Likewise, with Aristotle, he was intolerant of avarice, of seeking to gain more than one's share of wealth against the law of a proportionate equality among men. He tolerated no monetary monsters, for they came under the idea so hateful to the Greeks. In his "Ethics" he follows up what he has to say on justice by insisting on friendship as the corrector of an overstrict justice and as standing for equity. Aristotle, with his Greek disdain for trade, did not frame doctrines for the highest development of commerce. Some of his views may be set aside as being on the whole detrimental to social progress in material well-being. A certain amount of hard business, so long as it is not unjust, adds to the general comfort of a people by promoting trade on the whole. Nevertheless, what works most profitably for the kingdom of earth may at times be laudably foregone for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. A country may consent to be less rich in gold if thereby it becomes richer in charity.⁵ If business is business, charity is charity; and in this world, while we necessarily make room for both, a preference for the lower good must not be allowed to render us unchristian and liable to the fate that befell Dives when confronted with Lazarus.

Mr. Lecky falls into an instinctive mistake when he says that "theologians, believing money to be sterile, held that he who has returned what he borrowed has canceled all the benefit he has received from the transaction." The *contractus mutui* never aimed at such a canceling; it deliberately renounced not all gain, but even a certain possessed advantage; it was meant to be an act of self-sacrifice, except in the rare case when not only was repayment in due season certain, but the money lent was lying absolutely idle and could be parted with for a time at no inconvenience whatever. But usually the lender charitably puts himself at a disadvantage. In the Church's doctrine no countenance is shown to the bad borrowers described by Ecclesiasticus xxix., 4-13: "Many look upon what they have borrowed as what they have found. They are obsequious while borrowing, and when the time for repayment comes they crave delays, plead the hardness of the times and blame exaction. They declare creditors their enemies and call them by evil names. Many

⁵ St. Thomas, following Aristotle on the barrenness of money and the absurdity of *tokos*, a fruit from the barren, had an obviously right sense and an easy way to a fallacy. The barrenness appears in the scholastic definition, *Mutuatio est contractus quo res infructuosa et primo usu consumptabiles alteri traditus at hic rem similia postea redat.*—Aristotle, *Politics*, I., 4, 2.

persons are deterred from lending, not because they are hard of heart, but because they fear to be cheated. Nevertheless, be thou full of forbearance towards the destitute and do not keep them waiting for thy alms. Because of the commandment and for the sake of the poor man in distress leave him not without help. Lose thy money in the cause of thy brother and thy friend; hide it not under a stone to thy own undoing."

A contrivance for easy loans during the Middle Ages is described by Abbot Gasquet in an account of our English practice: "The parish wardens had their duties towards the poorer members of the district. In more than one instance they were guardians of the common chest, out of which temporary loans could be obtained by needy parishioners to tide over persons in difficulties. These loans were secured by pledges and the additional security of other parishioners. No interest was charged for the use of the money, and in case the pledge had to be sold, everything over and above the sum lent was returned to the borrower." Answering to such an institution the *Montes Pietatis* in modern times have provided loans for the poor.

After all, we must allow for the existence of those who are called by Hermos "those who have got an unequally large store of the world's goods," honestly, as we will suppose, and who are constantly increasing it by interest. For them holds the principle laid down by the Fathers that if the possession is private the use must be public, that is, the very rich must be very bountiful to private and public benefactions. How large their donations must be cannot exactly be said.

Like many more matters, it must in the end be left to the individual conscience. Furthermore, the desire needs checking to become one of these. The supreme contention of life should not be to swell into a millionaire or a multi-millionaire. Aristotle tells us that we may strive as hard as we like to excel in spiritual possessions, but not in material. Here we must not "go with the multitude to do evil." Salvation is an affair of aiming at the select in life. It is a bad policy to do as most people do and go where most people go at the end of all.

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THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL ON MODERNISM.

IT MAY be safely said that few, if any, documents issued by the Holy See in our days have so deeply moved the minds and hearts of men as the recent Encyclical on Modernism. The sound of it has gone forth over the whole earth, and it has been spoken of and written about by all manner of men. The widespread world of naturalist letters and religion has received it in a spirit which displays partly sheer ignorance of its meaning and purport, partly a spiteful hostility, not unlike that of the spirits of old who cried out: "What have we to do with thee? Art thou come hither to torment us before our time?" Many thoughtful men, however, outside the Church have, to the certain knowledge of the writer, hailed the Encyclical as an effective blow struck for right reasoning and dogmatic Christianity. Within the Church the followers of the school of thought whose tenets it condemns have received it in various fashions. Some of them have nobly submitted, thereby proving their good faith; others are still, apparently, holding back, whilst others have gone into open revolt and caused themselves to be severed from the Church. Among these latter, one, the best known in the English-speaking world, has had the arrogance to say in a well-known journal that he disdains to criticize the document, for that would be "to fell the fallen;" and he proceeds to say that he and others have been called down because they mounted the walls and looked out and descried the storm rushing on the building, and gave notice to the sleepy ones inside, with the result that they have been censured and the walls raised, so that those within may sleep on in fancied security. The figure used by this writer may be aptly turned against himself and those who think with him. They have been blamed, not because they saw the storms that have been seen for the past nineteen centuries, but because the false steps they wished to take in order to attain what they considered a vantage ground threatened to make breaches in the wall, whereby the flood would gradually force its way and swamp the whole edifice. Moreover, it is simply ludicrous for any man, and especially for one who has no traditional knowledge of the Church, to pose as a heaven-sent watchman appointed at the dawn of the twentieth century to point out dangers and suggest means of safety to the rock of ages. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Church in all lands have received the Encyclical not only with the deep respect which Catholics are wont to show towards all Papal utterances, but with an unreserved assent of mind and thankfulness of heart. For this Encyclical is especially remarkable for its close reasoning and logical conclusions. It takes its stand on the solid basis of true

philosophy, and thence surveys the sources and the ramifications of the errors of Modernism. The Encyclical discloses and unravels step by step what it rightly describes as a "synthesis of all heresies," and by implication it restates the entire theory of the Catholic religion and sets up a lucid synthesis of doctrine. It is addressed primarily to the *ecclesia docens*, that is, to those charged to instruct and guide souls; but it appeals to the "whole Church," before which it denounces the errors in question. A document of the kind necessarily bristles with technicalities of expression and modes of reasoning which are in vogue in the schools of philosophy and theology; yet its main arguments and conclusions are well within the comprehension of every intelligent Catholic. We hope, therefore, to be of some use to our readers by putting before them briefly some general views on the occasion that has called forth the Encyclical, the nature and purport of its teachings and the grave injunctions which it proclaims.

The causes which have led to the publication of the Encyclical are known to everybody. For the past ten years a certain number of Catholic writers in several countries, men of remarkable but one-sided ability, have been coquetting with the naturalist and rationalist critical methods of the day; and they have fancied that it would be feasible and advantageous to apply them to the Church's teaching, discipline and organization, so as to revise her lines of defense, modify the expression of her mind and reform her very inner life.

The chief centre of this mischievous movement has been in France, and its most brilliant exponents have been found among the younger French clergy. There is something very pathetic in this fact, when considered side by side with the dread ordeal that the Church in France has been going through these same years at the hands of her hereditary and implacable foes. But it has always been thus; the worst scandals have arisen in the midst of the darkest persecutions. It was so for the Church of the Catacombs; it was so in the time of the Penal Laws in England and Ireland; it was so during the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, and it has been so for the Church of France in this her day of bitter conflict and mourning. Rightly, indeed, the foremost of French Catholic laymen, the Comte de Mun, has written of this Modernist movement in France that it has done more harm to the Church than all the brutal persecutions of Combes and Clemenceau. His Catholic instinct has enabled him to perceive what many professional theologians seem to have failed to grasp at once—the fatal drift of the Modernist movement—just as the lay Catholic mind of the Blessed Thomas More saw through the meaning and consequences of Henry VIII.'s Act of Supremacy, whilst many Bishops and priests ignored it, or just as O'Connell saw

through the evil effects of the proposed right of veto which, though favored by many ecclesiastics, would have enslaved the Irish Church. When the noted French book, "*L'Evangile et L'Eglise*," was published some six years ago many failed to see its pernicious import. The present writer was assured at the time by a friend of his who holds a very high position in one of the most learned orders of the Church, and who is uncommonly conversant with such subjects, that he had not noticed at a first reading any positive errors in the book. Nor is this to be wondered at, because the many erroneous statements it contained were set forth in an ambiguous manner. Thus there are, here and there through the book, beautiful expressions about the "something divine in Christ," at the same time that we are told that Christ was not conscious of His Divinity, nor did He manifest it in His teachings, nor is it provable from the Synoptic Gospels. The author maintained that the doctrine of the Divinity was read into the early Gospels by the faith and piety of the infant Church, and that these sentiments, grown stronger and stronger by time, led to the compilation of imaginary events and discourses in what is known to critics as the Fourth Gospel—that of St. John. When texts from the Synoptic Gospels embarrass him he does not hesitate to brush them aside as having been interpolated, or, even worse, positively untrue. Thus he argues against Harnack that the text of St. Matthew iii., 17, reproduced by St. Mark ix., 6, does witness to the natural Divine Sonship of Christ; but he proceeds to say that this text is "a product of the Christian tradition of the early times." In other words, the two evangelists have falsified the thought of their Divine Master. In the same way he treats the words of our Lord foretelling the Passion and Redemption, recorded by St. Mark x., 45, as "very probably influenced by the theology of St. Paul," inferring, of course, that the evangelist is unreliable. Of these and numerous other similar assertions in flat contradiction of all orthodox, traditionary beliefs, not an iota of evidence is given; the *ipse dixit* of the writer is held to be all-sufficient. He seems to be utterly unscrupulous in building up his main contention that the Christ of faith is not the Christ of history, and that it would be hopeless to construct or defend the dogma of the Divinity of Christ from the Gospel narrative. How such a writer could claim to possess the faith is one of those psychological problems which the Pope treats of in the Encyclical, and to which we shall have to return.

There is no need to direct detailed attention to the abettors of Modernism in other countries. They are not very numerous, but they have shown themselves wonderfully active. In Italy there has been the pseudo-mysticism embodied in the romance of "*Il Santo*," a book which would probably have passed unnoticed were it not for

the known school of thought of which it was in part the exponent. The seat of that school was chiefly in Milan, where its activities seem to have been fanned into a flame by the discovery of the now famous letter written by an English member of a great order. In that letter the writer maintained practically that the dogmas of the Church were but forms of expression, with no unchangeable reality behind them, and subject to varying interpretations, according to the subjective views of the individual and the current modes of thought. In England itself there were not many adherents of these untenable views. Rumor had it for some years past that there was much internal dissension among the author's immediate brethren; that some of them were chafing under the disciplinary control of their utterances and were threatening secession. This was no matter for surprise in the case of Englishmen, especially converts, who had been brought up under the influence of the free thought and private judgment engendered by the so-called Reformation and taught to think and speak for themselves unrestrainedly. Germany is the fountain-head and historic home of rationalism and diluted Christianity. It is, therefore, not surprising that there should be found there, especially among State professors, a certain number of nominal Catholics infected by the prevailing *virus* of naturalist critical and historical methods, which are utterly subversive of supernatural truth. The noble and loyal address recently drawn up by the German Bishops assembled at Cologne and sent to the Holy Father to thank him for his Encyclical has expressed the sentiments of the vast body of German Catholics who are so unreservedly devoted to the Holy See. It has been said that in other countries, too, including our own, there have been and are certain upholders of the Modernist's methods and errors. We know not to what extent this statement is correct; if it be well founded, the Encyclical "*Pascendi*" will effectively stop the emanations and squelch the very germs of the disease.

To come now to the Encyclical itself, its nature and purport. We have already observed that it is remarkable for its close reasoning and logical conclusions. It is also a lengthy document, containing over twenty thousand words; yet there is scarcely a sentence in it which could be discarded without weakening the chain of the argument or marring the serried completeness of the exposition. The introduction is comparatively brief, setting forth the duty of the Apostolic Office "to guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints;" the special need of this watchfulness at the present day, when there are found in the very bosom of the Church men feigning love of her, yet so lacking in right philosophy and theology, so imbued with poisonous errors and so lost to

all sense of modesty as to vaunt themselves as reformers of the Church and assail all that is most sacred, even the Divinity of Christ; such men put the axe to the very root of divine faith, and must be regarded as the Church's worst enemies, notwithstanding the personal good qualities of many of their number. Fatherly attempts have been made to correct them, but in vain, and now silence must be broken in order to expose them before the whole Church in their true colors. The introduction closes by indicating a three-fold division of the Encyclical into an analysis of Modernists' teaching, an examination of the source of their errors and a prescribing of remedies against them.

The determined, authoritative character of this exordium cannot be well understood by those outside the Church who have little or no knowledge of the vital importance she attaches to divine faith and to her own mission to watch and guard it. Much less can the analysis of errors which forms the first part of the Encyclical be grasped by any one who has not a clear idea of the nature of divine faith, the grounds on which it rests, its relation to reason on the one hand and to revelation on the other. Even Catholics will do well to refresh their minds on these points so as to follow more readily the argument of the Encyclical. But there is one difficulty which has to be cleared up before entering on this wider field, and that is the meaning of Modernism; and an explanation of it will serve as an introduction to our argument.

Modernism, as interpreted by its votaries and adopted in the Encyclical, may be defined as "the subordination of Catholicism to the progress of modern, naturalist science." This definition will raise up in the minds of many non-Catholics visions of obscurantism, of the Inquisition and of numerous other fancied enormities; and even certain Catholics will blush at the possibility of the Church being opposed to modern progress. The one and the other may be assured at once that the Church, being a living social organism, cannot, dare not be opposed to any true progress of humanity; and it would be her death-knell to anathematize any acquired fact or truth of science. The Church walks with science as far as the deepest science goes; but she knows by revelation from God many things which human philosophy has never dreamt of. Hence the Church can never regard as true progress that which is material to the neglect of the spiritual; that which is natural to the denial of the supernatural; and, whilst she claims that there can never be any conflict between true science and herself, yet she can never subordinate to any human science her higher life and knowledge, which are guaranteed to her by the First, Essential Truth, God. The Church thus rests on two pillars of science—reason and revelation—

twin sisters, not of equal age and strength, but mutually helpful; she needs them both, and she regards herself bound to safeguard the one and the other. In the long course of her history she has had to watch over the workings of reason as well as of revelation, and she has drawn many a sword to save the one from aberration and the other from being misapplied. But reason must always be the Church's first care, since it is the foundation on which her sublime edifice is built. A false philosophy would be more fatal to the Church than a hundred heresies. Hence the first ground of complaint set forth in the Encyclical against the Modernists is their hankering after and adoption of the unsound philosophy of the day. It is well known that in most non-Catholic seats of learning all over the world at the present time there are two fundamental philosophical errors in vogue, the one affecting the will and destructive of all moral consciousness and responsibility, the other affecting the intellect and destructive of natural certitude as well as of supernatural faith. Neither of these errors is precisely modern; they are to be found in the oldest philosophies and will be found to the end. Determinism must always be the philosophy of the natural, animal man left to himself without grace to resist and overcome his passions; and agnosticism is the only refuge for those who deny the supernatural illumination of the intellect, for whom the motto of the ancient University of Oxford, "*Dominus Illuminatio Mea*," has lost all meaning. To the impartial thinker these errors nullify man's noblest faculties—his intellect and will—and to the Catholic they nullify divine faith. We are not aware that even the extremest Modernist among professing Catholics has adopted Determinism or the negation of the freedom of the will; so we may confine ourselves to the consideration of Agnosticism and its offshoot, Immanence, which have been, unfortunately, flaunted before the world by the Modernists, and which have been so justly arraigned in the Encyclical.

Agnosticism claims that whatever is beyond the field of phenomena as perceived by the senses is unknown and unknowable. Now, this theory denies, in the face of common sense and of the oldest philosophies from Aristotle down, the power of the intellect to abstract from and generalize on the images presented to it by the senses. It thus sweeps away the reasonableness of belief in the existence of God, in the possibility and fact of revelation. Yet the human mind, though a *tabula rasa* at its creation, as Aristotle has taught in his treatise on the soul, has the innate power to occupy itself with questions outside the range of phenomena, such as the question of cause and effect. In revolving the whys and the wherefores of things seen by the senses, the mind naturally discovers a First Cause, who must be a Spirit, since He has created the spiritual soul of man, and who

must be a Person for a similar reason. All true philosophy must agree with St. Paul when he says: "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and Divinity, so that they (philosophers) are inexcusable." The father of modern experimental science, Nicholas Bacon, has said that there is no *bona fide* atheist; and a far higher Authority tells us that it is the fool who hath said in his heart there is no God.

How any one could adopt Agnosticism, with all its logical consequences, and still pretend to be a Catholic is a knotty psychological problem which we have already mentioned and which has called forth the main argument of the Encyclical. The Modernists, finding themselves in the *impasse*, the dark cave of the unknown and unknowable, where Agnosticism has placed them, grope about for an explanation and foundation of religion, and they fancy they discover it within man himself in a certain sentiment which originates from a need of the Divine which lies hidden in man's subconsciousness. This sentimental need of the Divine they call faith and the foundation of religion as well as the depository of revelation. It can be easily reckoned to what extremes this twofold theory of the natural and supernatural leads its followers. On the side of nature, of history, science and criticism every fact and inference must be subject to the principles of Agnosticism; nothing of the miraculous must be admitted; and on the side of the supernatural all religion, faith, revelation, the Church's magisterium, sacraments, dogmas—all must be subjected, first, to the radical sifting of Agnostic criticism, and then, what is left of them is to be interpreted and received according to the inner sentiments of each one. The Encyclical treats in considerable detail the pernicious consequences that flow from the Modernist combination of Agnosticism and Vital Immanence over the whole field of religion. These consequences are pointed out not as inferences drawn theoretically from Modernists' principles, but are extracted from actual writings of theirs.

It is hard for any Catholic to realize that such perverse errors should have been uttered by men professing loyalty to Christ and His Church. The Encyclical touches on the causes of this extraordinary movement. It does not ascribe it to bad faith, but to a certain perversion of the mind fostered by curiosity and pride. There is nothing so insidious as pride of intellect. To feel one's power in certain lines of thought, to be patted on the back by men of renown, to have one's visions of progress and emancipation blocked by an impassable wall of conservatism—all of this is hard for brilliant minds to bear in the proper spirit. A deeper and more fatal cause of Modernists' errors pointed out by the Holy Father

is their ignorance of scholastic philosophy and their attempted alliance between faith and false modern philosophy. It is the glory of the Church of God to preserve intact the deep-reasoned philosophy bequeathed to mankind by Aristotle, *Il maestro di color che sanno*, and adopted by the genius of St. Thomas for the service of Divine Revelation. Beside it and compared with it, the Agnosticism and Idealism begotten of Descartes and Kant, Berkeley and Hume, Mill and Spencer are but the ravings of partially sane men. The Church will have none of their philosophy; she will never exchange her own solid foundation of certitude and objective truth for those shifting sands of subjective sentiments. It is the privilege of Catholics to-day, as in the past, to know and realize that their faith can face without a blush the scrutiny of true and the onslaughts of false philosophy; that the service demanded of them is what St. Paul calls it, a "reasonable service;" that faith and reason are twin sisters; that faith is no merely subjective, sentimental acquiescence in certain truths that it does not comprehend. "Faith," says St. Thomas, "presupposes reason, as grace presupposes nature, as the perfect presupposes the perfectible." Grace needs nature for its operations; it needs the intellect to illumine the will to strengthen, and these in turn need the bodily organs for their manifestation and activity. So, too, faith needs reason; it is necessary for understanding the terms of revelation; it judges the credibility of what is proposed by faith. There can never be any conflict between them. For, as St. Thomas again says, "the principles engrafted in human reason by Almighty God must be true; so, too, God's word must be true. Therefore there can be no contradiction between them. God is the author of both reason and revelation. His wisdom embraces both; therefore there can be no contradiction, for contradiction would in such case paralyze all reasoning." What is theologically true cannot be philosophically false, and *vice versa*. The enemies of faith will always be found to be the enemies of reason also. They are represented to-day by the Agnosticism, the Rationalism, the Naturalism, which have made such an insidious attempt to get a foothold in the Church under the guise of Modernism. The Encyclical "*Pascendi Gregis Dominici*" has given them a backset, from which they will not recover for many a day. All Catholics thank God and the Holy Father for it; they give their hearty assent to all its teachings, their hearty allegiance to all its injunctions, and they fervently pray that the misguided ones may listen to the fatherly voice of Pius X. and take their proper place in the one true fold under his supreme pastoral guidance.

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THE CHURCH AND THE EXPERIMENTAL METHOD.

IN THE midst of the discussion that has been aroused over the recent Papal Encyclical on Modernism and the publication of the Papal document called a Syllabus, one of the most prominent notes that has been sounded by those outside of the Church is the supposed opposition of the Church to science and scientific methods and scientific investigations. There is apt to be an attitude of complacent pity toward believers on the part of students of science, as if faith somehow prevented those who accepted it from having a properly open mind for scientific advances. As a consequence of this it is supposed to be almost impossible for the devout believer to put himself in such a state of mind as will enable him to doubt sufficiently about the things he knows to enable him to make progress in science. There is no question at all that doubt is the mother of progress. It is the man who refuses to accept what most of the world at least have believed up to his time and tries to find another reason for it different from previous explanations, who discovers new truths. The experimental method is really a series of questionings of previous knowledge.

There is a very generally accepted false impression with regard to the attitude maintained by the Church during the Middle Ages, especially towards what is known as the experimental method, in the gaining of knowledge, or, as we would now say, in the study of science. It is commonly supposed that at least before the sixteenth century, though of course in modern times it has had to change its attitude to accord with the advances of modern science, the Church was decidedly opposed to the experimental method, and that the great ecclesiastical scholars of the wonderful period of the rise of the universities were all absolute in their confidence in authority and their dependence on the deductive method as the only means of arriving at truth. This widespread false impression owes its existence and persistence to many causes.

It is supposed by many of those outside the Church that there is a distinct incompatibility between the state of mind which accepts things on faith and that other intellectual attitude which leads many to doubt about his knowledge and consequently to inquire. This doubting frame of mind, which is readily recognized to be absolutely necessary for the proper pursuit of experimental science, is supposed quite to preclude the idea of the peaceful settlement of the doubts that assail men's minds as to the significance of life, of the relation of man to man and to his Creator and the hereafter, which comes with the acceptance of what revelation has to say on these subjects. Somehow it is assumed by many people, and there is something

mutually and essentially repellent in these two forms of assent. If a man is ready to accept certain propositions on authority and without being able to understand them, and, still more, if he accept them, realizing that he cannot understand them, it is considered for him to be impossible to be able to assume such a mental attitude towards science as would make him an original investigator.

It is almost needless to say to any one who knows anything about the history of modern science—even nineteenth century science—that there is absolutely no foundation for this prejudice. Most of our great investigators even in nineteenth century science have been faithful believers not only in the ordinary religious truths, in a Providence, in a hereafter and in this life as a preparation for another, but also in the great mysteries of revelation. I have shown this amply even with regard to what is usually considered so unorthodox a science as medicine in my volume on "*The Makers of Modern Medicine.*" Most of the men who did the great original work in the last century medicine were Catholics. The same thing is true for electricity. For example, all the men after whom modes and units of electricity are named—Galvani, Volta, Ampère, Coulomb, Ohm—were not only members of the Church, but what would be even called devout Catholics.

A second and almost as important a reason for the superstition—for it is a supposed truth accepted without good reasons therefor—that somehow the Church was opposed to the inductive or experimental method, is the persistent belief which, in spite of frequent contradictions, remains in the minds of so many scientists that the inductive or experimental method was introduced to the world by Francis Bacon, the English philosopher, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bacon himself was a Protestant; he did not do his writing until the Reformation (so-called) had been at work in Europe for nearly a century, and somehow it is supposed that these facts are linked together as causes and effects. The reason why such a formulation of the inductive method had not come before was because this was forbidden ground! Nothing could be less true than that Lord Bacon had any serious influence in bringing about the introduction of the inductive method into science. At most he was a chronicler of tendencies that he saw in the science of his day. It is true that his writings served to give a certain popular vogue to the inductive method, or rather a certain exaggerated notion of the import of experiment to those who were not themselves scientists. Bacon was a popular writer on science, not an original thinker or worker in the experimental sciences. Popularizers in science, alas! have from Amerigo Vespucci down reaped the rewards due to the real discoverers.

Induction in the genuine significance of the word had been recognized in the world long before his time and had been used to much better effect than he was able to apply it. Personally, I have always felt that he has almost less right to all the praise that has been bestowed on him for what he is supposed to have done for science than he has for any addition to his reputation because of the attribution to him by so many fanatics of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. It is rather difficult to understand how his reputation ever came about. Lord Macaulay is much more responsible for it than is usually thought; his brilliancy often overreached itself or went far beyond truth; his favorite geese were nearly always swans.

De Maistre, in his review of Bacon's "*Novum Organum*," points out that this work is replete with prejudices; that Bacon makes glaring blunders in astronomy, in logic, in metaphysics, in physics, in natural history, and fills the pages of his work with childish observations, trifling experiments and ridiculous explanations. Our own Professor Draper, in his "*Intellectual Development of Europe*," has been even more severe, and has especially pointed out that Bacon never received the Copernican System, but "with the audacity of ignorance he presumed to criticize what he did not understand, and with a superb conceit disparaged the great Copernicus." "The more closely we examine the writings of Lord Bacon," he says farther on, "the more unworthy does he seem to have been of the great reputation which has been awarded to him. . . . The popular delusion, to which he owes so much, originated at a time when the history of science was unknown. This boasted founder of a new philosophy could not comprehend and would not accept the greatest of all scientific discoveries when it was plainly set before his eyes."

As a student of the history of medicine, it has always been especially irritating to me to hear Francis Bacon's name heralded as the Father of Experimental Science. Literally hundreds of physicians had applied the experimental method in its perfect form to many problems in medicine and surgery during at least three centuries or more before Bacon's time. They did not need to have the principles of it set forth for them by this publicist, who knew how to write about scientific method, but did not know how to apply it so far as we know anything about him, and who was utterly unable to see the great discoveries that had been made by the experimental method in the century before his time, and refused to accept such great advances in science as were made by Copernicus and others. Some two score of years before Bacon wrote, in England itself the great Gilbert, of Colchester, who was elected the president of the Royal College of Physicians for the year 1600, and who was physician-in-ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, had applied the experimental

method to such good purpose that he well deserves the title that has been conferred upon him of Father of Electricity.

There was never a more purely experimental scientist than Gilbert. His work, "*De Magnete*," is one of the great contributions to experimental science. Any one who thinks that experiments came only after Lord Bacon's time should read this wonderful work, which is at the foundation of modern electricity. For twenty years, from 1580 to 1600, Gilbert spent all the leisure that he could snatch from his professional duties in his laboratory. He notes down his experiments—his failures as well as his successes—discusses them very thoroughly, suggests explanations of success and failure, hits upon methods of control, but pursues the solution of the problems he has in hand ever further and further. As a biographer said of him, "we find him toiling in his workshop at Colchester quite as Faraday toiled, more than two hundred years later, in the low, dark rooms of the Royal Institution of Great Britain." Faraday was actuated by no more calm, persevering, inquiring spirit than was Gilbert. To say that any Englishman invented or taught the world the application of the experimental method in science after Gilbert's time is to talk nonsense.

Yet it was of this great scientific observer that Lord Bacon, carried away by ill-feeling and jealousy of a contemporary, went so far as to say in his "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*" that Gilbert "had attempted to found a general system upon the magnet, and endeavored to build a ship out of materials not sufficient to make the rowing-pins of a boat." When Bacon refused to accept Copernicus' teachings, he did not commit a greater error, nor do a greater wrong to mankind than when he made little of Gilbert of Colchester's work. Poggendorf called Gilbert "the Galileo of Magnetism" and Priestley hailed him as "the founder of modern electricity." When Gilbert did the work on which these titles are founded, however, he was only following out the methods which had been introduced into England long before and which had been exemplified so thoroughly all during the life of Friar Bacon and of Friar Bacon's great teacher, Albertus Magnus. One would expect that at least in science credit would be given properly, and that the false notions introduced by litterateurs and historians of politics should not be allowed to dominate the situation.

The position popularly assigned to Bacon in the history of science is indeed one of those history lies, as the Germans so bluntly but frankly call them, which, though very generally accepted, is entirely due to a lack of knowledge of the state of education and of the progress of scientific investigation long before his time. The reason for this ignorance is the unfortunate tradition which has been so long

fostered in educational circles, that nothing worth while ever came out of the Nazareth of the Middle Ages, or the centuries before the so-called Reformation and the Renaissance. The ridiculously utter falsity of this impression we shall be able properly to characterize at the end of the next chapter.

As a matter of fact, it would have been much truer to have attributed the paternity of physical science to his great namesake, Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar, whose work was done at Paris and at Oxford during the latter half of that wonderful thirteenth century that saw the rise and the development of the universities to that condition in which they have practically remained ever since. Even Bacon, however, is not the real originator of the inductive method, since, as we shall see, the writings of his great teacher, the profoundest scholar of this great century, whose years are almost coincident with it, Albertus Magnus, the Dominican, who afterwards became Bishop of Ratisbon, contained many distinct and definite anticipations of Bacon as regards the inductive method.

The earlier Bacon, the Franciscan, laid down very distinctly the principle that only by careful observation and experimental demonstration could any real knowledge with regard to natural phenomena be obtained. He not only laid down the principle, however, but in this, quite a contrast to his later namesake, he followed the route himself very wonderfully. It is for this reason that his name is deservedly attached to many important beginnings in modern science, which we shall have occasion to mention during the course of this and the next chapter. His general attitude of mind toward natural science can be best appreciated from the famous passage with regard to his friend, Petrus Peregrinus, who did such excellent work in magnetism in the thirteenth century, and sent to Friar Bacon the details of it with the loving solicitude of a pupil to a master.

In his "Opus Tertium" Bacon thus appraises the merits of Peregrinus: "I know of only one person who deserves praise for his work in experimental philosophy, for he does not care for the discourses of men and their wordy warfare, but quietly and diligently pursues the works of wisdom. Therefore, what others grope after blindly, as bats in the evening twilight, this man contemplates in all their brilliancy *because he is a master of experiment*. Hence he knows all of natural science, whether pertaining to medicine and alchemy, or to matters celestial or terrestrial. He has worked diligently in the smelting of ores, as also in the working of minerals; he is thoroughly acquainted with all sorts of arms and implements used in military service and in hunting, besides which he is skilled in agriculture and in the measurement of lands. It is impossible to write a useful or correct treatise in experimental philosophy without

mentioning this man's name. Moreover, he pursues knowledge for its own sake; for if he wished to obtain royal favor, he could easily find sovereigns who would honor and enrich him."

Brother Potamian's reflections on this unexpected passage of Bacon are the best interpretation of it for the modern student of science:

"This last statement is worthy of the best utterances of the twentieth century. Say what they will, the most ardent pleaders of our day for original work and laboratory methods cannot surpass the Franciscan monk of the thirteenth century in his denunciation of mere book learning or in his advocacy of experiment and research, while in Peregrinus, the mediævalist, they have Bacon's impersonation of what a student of science ought to be. Peregrinus was a hard worker, not a mere theorizer, preferring, Procrusteanlike, to make theory fit the facts rather than facts fit the theory; he was a brilliant discoverer, who knew at the same time how to use his discoveries for the benefit of mankind; he was a pioneer of science and a leader in the progress of the world."¹

This letter of Roger Bacon contains every idea that the modern scientists contend for as significant in education. It counsels observation, not theory, and says very plainly what it thinks of much talk without a basis of observation. It commends a mastery in experiment as the most important thing for science. It suggests, of course, by implication at least, that a man should know all sciences and all applications of them; but surely no one will object to this mediæval friar commending as great a breadth of mental development as possible, as the ideal of an educated man, and especially with regard to the experimental sciences. Finally, it has the surprising phrase that Peregrinus pursues knowledge for its own sake. Friar Bacon evidently would have sympathized very heartily with Faraday, who at the beginning of the nineteenth century wanted to get out of trade and into science, because he thought it unworthy of man to spend all his life accumulating money and considered that the only proper aim in life is to add to knowledge. He would have been in cordial accord with Pasteur at the end of the century, who told the Empress Eugenie, when she asked him if he would not exploit his discoveries in fermentation for the purpose of building up a great brewing industry in France, that he thought it unworthy of a French scientist to devote himself to a mere money-making industry.

For a man of the modern time, perhaps the most interesting expression that ever fell from Roger Bacon's lips is his famous

¹ The letter of Petrus Peregrinus on the Magnet, A. D. 1269, translated by Brother Arnold, M. Sc., with an Introductory Note by Brother Potamian, New York, 1904.

proclamation of the reasons why men do not obtain genuine knowledge more rapidly than would seem ought to be the case from the care and time and amount of work which they have devoted to its cultivation. This expression occurs in Bacon's "Opus Tertium," which, it may be recalled, the Franciscan friar wrote at the command of Pope Clement, because the Pope had heard many interesting accounts of all that the great thirteenth century teacher and experimenter was doing at the University of Oxford, and wished to learn for himself the details of his work. Friar Bacon starts out with the principle that there are four grounds of human ignorance.

"These are: First, trust in adequate authority; second, that force of custom which leads men to accept too unquestioningly what has been accepted before their time; third, the placing of confidence in the opinion of the inexperienced, and fourth, the hiding of one's own ignorance with the parade of superficial knowledge." These reasons contain the very essence of the experimental method and continue to be as important in the twentieth century as they were in the thirteenth. They could only have emanated from an eminently practical mind, accustomed to test by observation and by careful searching of authorities every proposition that came to him.

It is very evident that modern scientists would have more of kinship and intellectual sympathy with Friar Bacon than most of them are apt to think possible. A faithful student of his writings, who was at the same time in many ways a cordial admirer of mediævalism, the late Professor Henry Morley, who held the chair of English literature at University College, London, whose contributions to the History of English Literature are probably the most important of the nineteenth century, has a striking paragraph with regard to this attitude of Bacon toward knowledge and science—two words that have the same meaning etymologically, though they have come to have quite different connotations. In the third volume of his "English Writers," page 321, Professor Morley, after quoting Bacon's four grounds of human ignorance, said:

"No part of that ground has yet been cut away from beneath the feet of students, although six centuries ago the Oxford Friar clearly pointed out its character. We still make sheep walks of second, third and fourth and fiftieth-hand references to authority; still we are the slaves of habit; still we are found following too frequently the untaught crowd; still we flinch from the righteous and wholesome phrase, 'I do not know,' and acquiesce actively in the opinion of others, that we know what we appear to know. Substitute honest research, original and independent thought, strict truth in the comparison of only what we really know with what is really known by others, and the strong redoubt of ignorance is fallen."

This attitude of mind of Friar Bacon toward the reasons for ignorance is so different from what is usually predicated of the Middle Ages and of mediæval scholars, that it seems worth while insisting on it. Authority is supposed to have meant everything for the scholastics, and experiment is usually said to have counted for nothing. They are supposed to have been accustomed to swear to the words of the master—"jurare in verbis magistri"—yet here is a great leader of mediæval thought insisting on just the opposite. As clearly as ever it was proclaimed, Bacon announces that an authority is worth only the reasons that he advances. These thirteenth century teachers are supposed, above all, to have fairly bowed down and worshiped at the shrine of Aristotle. Many of them doubtless did. In every generation the great mass of mankind must find some one to follow. As often as not their leaders are much more fallible than Aristotle. Bacon, however, had no undue reverence for Aristotle or any one else, and he realized that the blind following of Aristotle had done much harm. In his sketch of Gilbert of Colchester, which was published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for August, 1901, Brother Potamian calls attention to this quality of Roger Bacon in a striking passage:

"Roger Bacon, after absorbing the learning of Oxford and Paris, wrote to the reigning Pontiff, Clement IV., urging him to have the works of the Stagirite burnt in order to stop the propagation of error in the schools. The Franciscan monk of Ilchester has left us, in his 'Opus Majus,' a lasting memorial of his practical genius. In the section entitled 'Scientia Experimentalis' he affirms that 'without experiment nothing can be adequately known. An argument proves theoretically, but does not give the certitude necessary to remove all doubt; nor will the mind repose in the clear view of truth, unless it finds it by way of experiment.' And in his 'Opus Tertium:' 'The strongest arguments prove nothing so long as the conclusions are not verified by experience. Experimental science is the queen of sciences and the goal of all speculation.'"

Lest it should be thought that these expressions of laudatory appreciation of the great thirteenth century scientist are dictated more by the design to magnify his work and to bring out the influence in science of the churchmen of the period, it seems well to quote an expression of opinion from the modern historian of the inductive sciences whose praise is scarcely if any less outspoken than that of others whom we have quoted and who might be supposed to be somewhat partial in their judgment. This opinion will fortify the doubters who must have authority and at the same time sums up very excellently the position which Roger Bacon occupies in the history of science.

Dr. Whewell says that Roger Bacon's "Opus Majus" is "the encyclopedia and Novan Organon of the thirteenth century, a work equally wonderful with regard to its general scheme and to the special treatises with which the outlines of the plans are filled up. The professed object of the work is to urge the necessity of a reform in the mode of philosophizing to set forth the reason why knowledge had not made a greater progress to draw back attention to the sources of knowledge which had been unwisely neglected, to discover other sources which were yet almost untouched, and to animate men in the undertaking by a prospect of the vast advantages which it offered. In the development of this plan all the leading portions of science are expended in the most complete shape which they had at that time assumed; and improvements of a very wide and striking kind are proposed in some of the principal branches of study. Even if the work had no leading purposes it would have been highly valuable as a treasure of the most solid knowledge and soundest speculations of the time; even if it had contained no such details, it would have been a work most remarkable for its general views and scope."

The open and inquiring attitude of mind toward the truths of nature is supposed usually to be utterly at variance with the intellectual temper of the Middle Ages. We have heard so much about the submission to authority and the cultivation of tradition on the part of mediæval scholars that we forget entirely how much they accomplished in adding to human knowledge, and though they had their limitations of conservatism, they were no more old fogies clinging to old-fashioned ruts than are the older men of each successive generation down even to our own time, in the minds of their younger colleagues. It might seem to be difficult to substantiate such a declaration. It may appear to be a paradox to talk thus. It is not hard to show good reasons for it, and far from being a far-fetched attempt to bolster up an opinion more favorable to the Middle Ages, it is really a very simple expression of what the history of these generations shows that they actually tried to accomplish. Roger Bacon must not be thought to be alone in this. On the contrary, he was only a leader with many followers. Even before his time, however, these ideas as to the necessity for observation had been very forcibly expressed by many, and by no one more than Roger's distinguished teacher, Albertus Magnus, whose name is now becoming familiar to scholars as Albert the Great.

Albert's great pupil, Roger Bacon, is rightly looked up to as the true father of inductive science, an honor that history has unfortunately taken from him to confer it undeservedly on his namesake of four centuries later; but the teaching out of which Roger Bacon

was to develop the principles of experimental science can be found in many places in the master's writings. In Albert's tenth, wherein he catalogues and describes all the trees, plants and herbs known in his time, he observes: "All that is here set down is the result of our own experience, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know what to have written their personal experience has confirmed; for in these matters experience alone can give certainty" (*experimentum solum certificat in talibus*). "Such an expression," says his biographer, "which might have proceeded from the pen of (Francis) Bacon, argues in itself a prodigious scientific progress, and shows that the mediæval friar was on the track so successfully pursued by modern natural philosophy. He had fairly shaken off the shackles which had hitherto tied up discovery, and was the slave neither of Pliny nor of Aristotle."

Albert was a theologian rather than a scientist, and yet, deeply versed as he was in theology, he declared in a treatise concerning Heaven and Earth,² that "in studying nature we have not to enquire how God the Creator may, as He freely wills, use His creatures to work miracles and thereby show forth His power; we have rather to enquire what nature with its immanent causes can naturally bring to pass." This can scarcely fail to seem a surprising declaration to those who have been accustomed to think of mediæval philosophers as turning by preference to miraculous explanations of things, but such a notion is founded partly on false tradition, with regard to the real teaching of the mediæval scholars, and even more on the partisan declarations of those who thought it the proper thing to make as little as possible of the intelligence of the people of the Middle Ages, in order to account for their adhesion to the Catholic Church.

As a matter of fact, Albert's declaration, far from being an innovation, was only in pursuance of the truly philosophic method which had characterized the writings of the great Christian thinkers from the earlier time. Unfortunately, the declarations of lesser minds are sometimes accepted as having represented the thoughts of men and the policy of the Church. It is not these lesser men, however, who have been in special honor. No one, for instance, can possibly be looked upon as representing Church teaching better than Augustine, who because of the depth of his teaching, yet its wonderful fidelity to Christian dogma, received the formal title of Father of the Church, which carried with it the approval of everything that he had written. There is a well-known quotation from St. Augustine which shows how much he deprecated the attempt to make Scriptures an authority in science, and how much he valued observation as com-

² De Cœlo et Mundo, I. tr. iv., x.

pared with authority in such matters as are really within the domain of investigation, by experiment and observation. He says:

"It very often happens that there is some question as to the earth or the sky, or the other elements of this world, respecting which one who is not a Christian has knowledge derived from most certain reasoning or observation" (that is, from the ordinary means at the command of an investigator in natural science), "and it is very disgraceful and mischievous, and of all things to be carefully avoided, that a Christian speaking of such matters as being according to the Christian Scriptures, should be heard by an unbeliever talking such nonsense that the unbeliever, perceiving him to be as wide from the mark as east from west, can hardly restrain himself from laughing."

It is the opinions of such men as Augustine and Albert that must be taken as representing the real attitude of theologians and churchmen towards science, and not those of lesser men, whose zeal, as is ever true of the men or adherents of any cause, always is prone to carry them into unfortunate excesses.

Albert the Great was indeed a thoroughgoing experimentalist in the best modern sense of the term. He says in the second book of his treatise "On Minerals" ("De Mineralibus"): "The aim of natural science is not simply to accept the statements of others, that is, what is narrated by people, but to investigate the causes that are at work in nature for themselves." When we take this expression in connection with the other, that "we must endeavor to find out what nature can naturally bring to pass," the complete foundation of experimentalism is laid. Albert held this principle not only in theory, but applied it in practice, for he says in his "Treatise on Plants"³ experiment is the only safe guide in such investigations, with regard to the forms and origins of plants. His exact words are: "Experimentum solum certificat in talibus."

It is often said that the scholastic philosophers, and notably Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, almost idolatrously worshiped at the shrine of Aristotle, and were ready to accept anything that this great Greek philosopher had taught. We have already quoted Roger Bacon's request to the Pope to forbid the study of the Stagirite. It is interesting to find in this regard that while Albert declared that in questions of natural science he would prefer to follow Aristotle to St. Augustine—a declaration which may seem surprising to many people who have been prone to think that what the Fathers of the Church said mediæval scholars followed slavishly—he does not hesitate to point out errors made by the Greek philosopher, nor to criticize his conclusions very freely. In his "Treatise on Physics:"⁴ "Whoever believes that Aristotle was a god must

³ De Vegetalibus VI., tr. ii., 1.

also believe that he never erred. But if he believe that Aristotle was a man, then doubtless he was liable to err just as we are." In fact, as is pointed out by the Catholic Encyclopædia in its article on Albertus Magnus, to which we are indebted for the exact references of the quotations that we have made, Albert devotes a lengthy chapter in his "*Summa Theologiæ*"⁵ to what he calls the errors of Aristotle. His appreciation of Aristotle is always critical. He deserves great credit not only for bringing the scientific teaching of the Stagirite to the attention of mediæval scholars, but also for indicating the method and the spirit in which that teaching was to be received.

With regard to Albert's devotion to the experimental method and to observation as the source of knowledge with regard to natural phenomena, Julius Pagel, in his "History of Medicine in the Middle Ages," which forms one of the parts of Puschmann's "Handbook of the History of Medicine," has some very interesting remarks that are worth while quoting here. "Albert," he says, "shared with the naturalists of the scholastic period the quality of entering deeply and thoroughly into the objects of nature, and was not content with bare superficial details concerning them, which many of the writers of the period penetrated no further than to provide a nomenclature. While Albert was a churchman and an ardent devotee of Aristotle in matters of natural phenomena, he was relatively unprejudiced and presented an open mind. He thought that he must follow Hippocrates and Galen rather than Aristotle and Augustine in medicine and in the natural sciences. We must concede it as a special subject of praise for Albert that he distinguished very strictly between natural and supernatural phenomena. The former he considered as entirely the object of the investigation of nature. The latter he handed over to the realm of metaphysics."

"Albert's efforts," Pagel says, "to set down the limits of natural science shows already the seeds of a more scientific treatment of natural phenomena and a recognition of the necessity to know things in their causes—*rerum cognoscere causas*—and not to consider that everything must simply be attributed to the action of Providence. He must be considered as one of the more rational thinkers of his time, though the fetters of scholasticism still bound him quite enough and his mastery of dialectics, which he had learned from the strenuous Dominican standpoint, still made him subordinate the laws of nature to the Church, teaching in ways that suggested the possibility of his being less free than might otherwise have been the case. His thoroughgoing piety, his profound scholarship, his boundless indus-

⁴ *Physica* lib. VIII., tr. i., xiv.

⁵ *Summa Theologiæ*, Pars II., tr. i., Quæst iv.

try, the almost uncontrollable impulse of his mind after universality of knowledge, his many-sidedness in literary productivity and, finally, the universal recognition which he received from his contemporaries and succeeding generations, stamp him as one of the most imposing characters and one of the most wonderful phenomena of the Middle Ages."

Perhaps in no department of the history of science has more nonsense been talked than with regard to the neglect of experiment and observation in the Middle Ages. The men who made a series of experiments necessary to enable them to raise the magnificent Gothic cathedrals; who built the fine old municipal buildings and abbeys and castles; who spanned wide rivers with bridges, and yet had the intelligence and the skill to decorate all of these buildings as effectively as they did, cannot be considered either impractical or lacking in powers of observation. As I have shown in the chapter on the University Man and Science, Dante, the poet and literary man of the thirteenth century, had his mind stored with quite as much material information with regard to physical science and nature study as any modern educated man. It is true that the men of the Middle Ages did not make observations on exactly the same things that we do, but to say either that they lacked powers of observation, or did not use their powers, or failed to appreciate the value of such powers, is simply a display of ignorance of what they actually did.

On the other hand, when it comes to the question of the principles of experimental science and the value they placed on them, these men of the mediæval universities, when sympathetically studied, proved to have been quite as sensible as the scientists of our time. The idea that Francis Bacon in any way laid the foundation of the experimental sciences, or indeed did anything more than give a literary statement of the philosophy of the experimental science, though he himself proved utterly unable to apply the principles that he discussed to the scientific discoveries of his own time, is one of the inexplicable absurdities of history that somehow get in and cannot be got out. The great thinkers of the mediæval period had not only reached the same conclusions as he did, but actually applied them three centuries before; and the great mediæval universities were occupied with problems, even in physical science, not very different from those which have given food for thought for subsequent generations, and their success in solving them was quite as ample as our own.

JAMES J. WALSH.

New York City.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI

PII

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PAPAE X.

...

DE SENTENTIIS PONTIFICALIS CONSILII REI BIBLICAE PROVEHENDAE
 PRAEPOSITI AC DE CENSURIS ET POENIS IN EOS QUI PRAEScripta
 ADVERSUS MODERNISTARVM ERRORES NEGLEXERINT.

MOTU PROPRIO.

PRAESTANTIA Scripturae Sacrae enarrata, eiusque commen-
 dato studio, Litteris Encyclicis *Providentissimus Deus*, datis
 xiv Calendas decembres a. MDCCCLXXXIII., Leo
 XIII., Noster immortalis memoriae Decessor, leges descripsit quibus
 Sacrorum Bibliorum studia ratione proba regerentur; Librisque
 divinis contra errores calumniasque Rationalistarum assertis, simul
 et ab opinionibus vindicavit falsae doctrinae, quae *critica sublimior*
 audit; quas quidem opiniones nihil esse aliud palam est, nisi *Ration-*
alismi commenta, quemadmodum sapientissime scribebat Pontifex,
e philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta.

Ingravescenti autem in dies periculo prospecturus, quod incon-
 sultarum deviarumque sententiarum propagatione parabatur, Litteris
 Apostolicis *Vigilantiae studiiq; memores*, tertio calendas novembres
 a. MDCCCII. datis, Decessor idem Noster Pontificale Consilium
 seu *Commissionem* de re Biblica condidit, aliquot doctrina et pru-
 dentia claros S. R. E. Cardinales complexam, quibus, Consultorum
 nomine, complures e sacro ordine adiecti sunt viri, e doctis scientia
 theologiae Bibliorumque Sacrorum delecti, natione varii, studiorum
 exegeticorum methodo atque opinamenti dissimiles. Scilicet id
 commodum Pontifex, aptissimum studiis et aetati, animo spectabat,
 fieri in Consilio locum sententiis quibusvis libertate omnimoda pro-
 ponendis, expendendis disceptandisque; neque ante, secundum eas
 Litteras, certa aliqua in sententia debere Purpuratos Patres consistere
 quam quum cognita prius et in utramque partem examinata rerum
 argumenta forent, nihilque esset posthabitu, quod posset clarissimo
 collocare in lumine verum sincerumque propositarum de re Biblica
 quaestionum statum: hoc demum emenso cursu, debere sententias
 Pontifici Summo subiici probandas, ac deinde pervulgari.

Post diuturna rerum iudicia consultationesque diligentissimas,
 quaedam feliciter a Pontificio de re Biblica Consilio emissae sen-
 tentiae sunt, provehendis germane biblicis studiis, iisdemque certa

norma dirigendis perutiles. At vero minime deesse conspicimus qui, plus nimio ad opiniones methodosque proni perniciosis novitatibus affectas, studioque praeter modum abrepti falsae libertatis, quae sane est licentia intemperans, probatque se in doctrinis sacris equidem insidiosissimam maximorumque malorum contra fidei puritatem fecundam, non eo, quo par est, obsequio sententias eiusmodi, quamquam a Pontifice probatas, exceperint aut excipiant.

Quapropter declarandum illud praecipiendumque videmus, quemadmodum declaramus in praesens expresseque praecipimus, universos omnes conscientiae obstringi officio sentiis Pontificalis Consilii de re Biblica, sive quae adhuc sunt emissae sive quae posthac edentur, perinde ac Decretis Sacrarum Congregationum pertinentibus ad doctrinam probatisque a Pontifice probatis, se subiiciendi; nec posse notam tum detrectatae oboedientiae tum temeritatis devitare aut culpa propterea vacare gravi quotquot verbis scriptisve sententias has tales impugnent; idque praeter scandalum, quo offendant, ceteraque quibus in causa esse coram Deo possint, aliis, ut plurimum, temere in his errateque pronunciatis.

Ad haec, audientiores quotidie spiritus complurium modernistarum repressuri, qui sophismatis artificiisque omne genus vim efficacitatemque nituntur adimere non Decreto solum *Lamentabili sane exitu*, quod v nonas Iulias anni vertentis S. R. et U. Inquisitio, Nobis iubentibus, edidit, verum etiam Litteris Encyclicis Nostris *Pascendi Dominici gregis*, datis die viii mensis Septembris istius eiusdem anni, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica iteramus confirmamusque tum *Decretum* illud Congregationis Sacrae Supremae, tum *Litteras* eas Nostras *Encyclicas*, addita *excommunicationis* poena adversus contradictores; illudque declaramus ac decernimus, si quis, quod Deus avertat, eo audaciae progrediatur ut quamlibet e propositionibus, opinionibus doctrinisque in alterutro documento, quod supra diximus, improbatis tueatur, censura ipso facto plecti Capite *Docentes* Constitutionis *Apostolica Sedis* irrogata, quae prima est in excommunicationibus latae sententiae Romano Pontifici simpliciter reservatis. Haec autem excommunicatio salvis poenis est intelligenda, in quas, qui contra memorata documenta quidpiam commiserint, possint, uti propagatores defensorosque haeresum, incurrere, si quando eorum propositiones, opiniones doctrinaeve haereticae sint, quod quidem de utriusque illius documenti adversariis plus semel usuvenit, tum vero maxime quum modernistarum errores, id est *omnium haereseon collectum*, propugnant.

His constitutis, Ordinariis dioecesium et Moderatoribus Religiosarum Consociationum denuo vehementerque commendamus, velint pervigiles in magistros esse, Seminariorum in primis; repertosque erroribus modernistarum imbutos, novarum nocentiumque rerum

studiosos, aut minus ad praescripta Sedis Apostolicae, utcumque edita, dociles, magisterio prorsus interdican: a sacris item ordinibus adolescentes excludant, qui vel minimum dubitationis iniiciant doctrinas se consecrari damnatas novitatesque maleficas. Simul hortamur, observare studiose ne cessent libros aliaque scripta, nimium quidem percrebrescentia, quae opiniones proclivitatesque gerant tales, ut improbatis per Encyclicas Litteras Decretumque supra dicta consentiant: ea summovenda curent et officinis librariis catholicis multoque magis e studiosae iuventutis Clerique manibus. Id si sollerter accuraverint, verae etiam solidaeque faverint institutioni mentium, inqua maxime debet sacrorum Praesulum sollicitudo versari.

Haec Nos universa rata et firma consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die xviii mensis Novembris a. MDCCCCVII., Pontificatus Nostri quinto.

PIVS PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO.

PIUS X. P. P.

THE DECISION OF THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSION ON THE BIBLE.

PIUS X. PP.

MOTU PROPRIO of Our Most Holy Lord Pius X., by Divine Providence Pope, on the decisions of the Pontifical Commission on the Bible and on the censures and penalties against those who neglect to observe the prescriptions against the errors of the modernists:

In his encyclical letter "*Providentissimus Deus*," given on November 18, 1893, our predecessor, Leo XIII. of immortal memory, after describing the dignity of Sacred Scripture and commending the study of it, set forth the laws which govern the proper study of the Holy Bible; and having proclaimed the divinity of these books against the errors and calumnies of the rationalists, he at the same time defended them against the false teachings of what is known as the higher criticism, which, as the Pontiff most wisely wrote, are clearly nothing but the commentaries of rationalism derived from a misuse of philology and kindred studies. Our predecessor, too, seeing that the danger was constantly on the increase and wishing to prevent the propagation of rash and erroneous views, by his apostolic letters "*Vigilantes studique memores*," given on October 30, 1902, established a Pontifical Council or Commission on Biblical matters, composed of several Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church distinguished for their learning and wisdom, to which Commission were added as consulters a number of men in sacred orders chosen from among the learned in theology and in the Holy Bible, of various nationalities and differing in their methods and views concerning exegetical studies. In so doing the Pontiff had in mind as an advantage most adapted for the promotion of study and for the time in which we live that in this Commission there should be the fullest freedom for proposing, examining and judging all opinions whatsoever, and that the Cardinals of the Commission were not to reach any definite decision, as described in the said apostolic letters, before they had examined the arguments in favor and against the question to be decided, omitting nothing which might serve to show in the clearest light the true and genuine state of the Biblical questions under discussion. Only after all this had been done were the decisions reached to be submitted for the approval of the Supreme Pontiff and then promulgated.

After mature examination and the most diligent deliberations the Pontifical Biblical Commission has happily given certain decisions of a very useful kind for the proper promotion and direction on safe lines of Biblical studies. But we observe that some persons, unduly prone to opinions and methods tainted by pernicious novelties and excessively devoted to the principle of false liberty, which is really immoderate license and in sacred studies proves itself to be a most insidious and a fruitful source of the worst evils against the purity of the faith, have not received and do not receive these decisions with the proper obedience.

Wherefore we find it necessary to declare and to expressly prescribe, and by this our act we do declare and decree that all are bound in conscience to submit to the decisions of the Biblical Commission relating to doctrine, which have been given in the past and which shall be given in the future, in the same way as to the decrees of the Roman congregations approved by the Pontiff; nor can all those escape the note of disobedience or temerity, and consequently of grave sin, who in speech or writing contradict such decisions, and this besides the scandal they give and the other reasons for which they may be responsible before God for other temerities and errors which generally go with such contradictions.

Moreover, in order to check the daily increasing audacity of many modernists who are endeavoring by all kinds of sophistry and devices to detract from the force and efficacy not only of the decree "*Lamentabili sane exitu*" (the so-called *Syllabus*), issued by our order by the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition on July 3 of the present year, but also of our encyclical letters "*Pascendi dominici gregis*" given on September 8 of this same year, we do by our apostolic authority repeat and confirm both that decree of the Supreme Sacred Congregation and those encyclical letters of ours, adding the penalty of excommunication against their contradictors, and this we declare and decree that should anybody, which may God forbid, be so rash as to defend any one of the propositions, opinions or teachings condemned in these documents he falls, *ipso facto*, under the censure contained under the chapter "*Docentes*" of the constitution "*Apostolicae Sedis*," which is the first among the excommunications *latae sententiae*, simply reserved to the Roman Pontiff. This excommunication is to be understood as *salvis poenis*, which may be incurred by those who have violated in any way the said documents, as propagators and defenders of heresies, when their propositions, opinions and teachings are heretical, as has happened more than once in the case of the adversaries of both these documents, especially when they advocate the errors of the modernists; that is, the synthesis of all heresies.

Wherefore we again and most earnestly exhort the ordinaries of the dioceses and the heads of religious congregations to use the utmost vigilance over teachers, and first of all in the seminaries; and should they find any of them imbued with the errors of the modernists and eager for what is new and noxious, or lacking in docility to the prescriptions of the Apostolic See, in whatsoever way published, let them absolutely forbid the teaching office to such; so, too, let them exclude from sacred orders those young men who give the very faintest reason for doubt that they favor condemned doctrines and pernicious novelties. We exhort them also to take diligent care to put an end to those books and other writings, now growing exceedingly numerous, which contain opinions or tendencies of the kind condemned in the encyclical letters and decree above mentioned; let them see to it that these publications are removed from Catholic publishing houses, and especially from the hands of students and the clergy. By doing this they will at the same time be promoting real and solid education, which should always be a subject of the greatest solicitude for those who exercise sacred authority.

All these things we will and order to be sanctioned and established by our apostolic authority, aught to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome in Saint Peter's, the 18th November, 1907, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. X.

Book Reviews

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Johannes Janssen*. Volumes XI. and XII. Art and Popular Literature to the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Translated by A. M. Christie. 1907, Kegan Paul, Trench, London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. Price of Vols. XI. and XII., \$6.25, net.

After tracing the political and religious history of the German nation from the close of the Middle Ages to the opening of the Thirty Years' War (1618), in his first five volumes, each divided into two tomes in the English translation, Janssen returns to consider the inner life of the people in his three concluding volumes. The present Volumes XI. and XII. are a translation of the original sixth volume, and we must compliment both the publishers and the talented translator upon the admirable way in which they have presented the great work to the English-speaking public. Miss Christie's task was a very difficult one, for the work bristles with quotations of authors who wrote in an archaic style hard to understand even by native Germans of modern times. We have read the two volumes very carefully and have scarcely detected an error. The only one worth mentioning occurs on page 259 in Volume XII., where Martinmas day is changed into an Italian astronomer called Martini. On the whole, the translation is as nearly perfect as it well could be made.

A melancholy interest attaches to this sixth (German) volume of Janssen, for it was the last he was destined to see in print. Although he left the materials for the two succeeding volumes and had gathered copious matter for prosecuting the work to 1806, the date when "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" passed away, yet he died on Christmas Day, 1891, bequeathing the task of editing the rest of the history to Dr. Pastor, his literary heir. It is an advantage to the present translation that it has been made from the later edition made under Pastor's supervision and bringing it to date by valuable notes, always kept separate from the original text. Janssen had thought that he could despatch the "culture conditions" of the German people during the century following the Reformation in two volumes; but Dr. Pastor found it advisable to devote a third volume to the subject. As an illustration of Janssen's method in laying out his work, we give the subject-matter of the three volumes. Volume VI., the present one, deals with "Art and Popular Literature Until the Beginning of the Thirty Years' War;" Volume VII. deals with the important subject of "Schools and Universities, Science and

Education" during the same period; Volume VIII. treats of the "Social-Economical and Moral and Religious Conditions, Witchcraft and Its Persecution." Thus no phase of social life escapes the keen glance of the German historian. The erudition of Janssen is immense, and he never loses his temper. Seldom interrupting his narrative to make remarks of his own, he lets the sixteenth century speak for itself. When he has finished a subject there is little more to be said about it. The reader feels that it is not Janssen who is speaking, but that the facts themselves demonstrate the utter corruption of German life in all its aspects consequent upon Luther's violent rupture with the past. The civilization and prosperity which the Catholic Church had implanted in Germany with centuries of hard toil were swept away as in a night, and barbarism and misery took their place. In every department of human energy these same phenomena of degeneracy and corruption invariably recur. This is what makes these volumes anything but pleasant reading. But the fault is not of the faithful historian, but of the times with which he is dealing. The fanaticism, ignorance and superstitions fostered in the populace by their Lutheran preachers surpass belief, and was only equaled by their dread of the devil and their hatred of the Pope. When Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Calendar, the astronomer Plieninger gravely reported that "on March 23, 1582, between eight and nine before midnight, trustworthy people at Morthingen in Lorraine had seen the moon come down close to the earth in the form of a veiled woman, and heard it cry out distinctly: 'Woe, woe!' six or seven times one after another, after which it returned to its accustomed place and orbit. By this exclamation of woe the moon meant to warn the Protestants against the acceptance of the new Gregorian Calendar, just as before, when the Roman wehr-wolf and Antichrist Gregory was publishing his wicked Calendar work to the ruin of the poor evangelical Christians, the moon had come down to earth in a village in the Voigtland and with an angry, almost ferocious aspect, had said several times quite plainly: 'Woe, woe, blood, blood, Pope and Jesuits.!' " (XII., 246.) Equally edifying is the account (page 259) of the Saxon preacher, Caspar Fueger, who "taught the peasants that the Pope feared Christ's coming too soon, and therefore made the new calendar 'in order that Christ might be puzzled and not know when would be the time for Him to set up His tribunal, and that the Pope might thus have less cause for fear and longer time to pursue unpunished his rascality, blasphemy and iniquity. May God punish this villain!" These are fair specimens of enlightened Protestant polemics and might easily be duplicated at any time since the Reformation in any part of the Protestant world. In the interests of fair play, the American Catholics should

see to it that a copy of Janssen's "History of the German People" be placed in every one of the public libraries throughout the country.

INSTITUTIONES PHILOSOPHICAE auctore *C. Willems, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I., pp. 605, price 9 marks; Vol. II., pp. 680, price 10 marks. Treviris ex Officina ad Stm. Paulinum (Paulinus Duruckerei), 1906.

CURSUS BREVIS PHILOSOPHIAE auctore *Gustavo Pécsi, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I. (Log. et Metaph.), pp. 327. Esztergour (Hungaria). Typis Gustavi Buzarovits, 1906.

There seems to be a prevailing opinion that in view of the many Latin text-books of philosophy already in the field, every newcomer should be challenged for the grounds of its claim on the student's consideration. Those who are more interested in the development of philosophy specifically and in the abstract pay little or no attention to this opinion, realizing as they do that it is precisely by the multiplication of such works that the science as such progresses, the process of a natural selection favoring the individual organisms that are fittest to survive, just because they bring their embodied systems in the aptest correspondence with the reasonable demands of the present intellectual environment. On the other hand, those whose interest is less on the side of philosophy itself than on the value of the individual work to promote their own mastery of philosophy want to know wherein the latest philosophical text-book has a claim on their consideration beyond that of its predecessors. The utilitarian standard thus set up is obviously variable and consequently difficult, not to say delicate, of application. Accepting it, however, as it stands, the first of the two recent text-books here under notice (Dr. Willems' "Institutiones") easily justifies its claim to consideration. There is no other work of its class quite as abreast with the actual status of physical science. It brings the principles and general teachings of Catholic philosophy to bear upon the most recent theories and hypotheses of physics. Thus, for instance, it is the only book of its kind that offers anything like a satisfactory philosophical discussion of the hypothesis of the electronic constitution of bodies and the possible ultimate homogeneity of their ultimate elements. Again, without neglecting the philosophical errors of an earlier day, the false teachings of the present are abundantly shown up. Thus, for instance again, when dealing with idealism the polemic does not end with Hegel, but brings under fire such actual thinkers as Herbert, Schopenhauer, Fechner, Lotze, Wundt, Paulsen and the Neo-Kantians. And so in other respects. The work is therefore not simply one more addition to the already goodly list of didactic expositions of traditional philosophy—though to occupy such a position

creditably were of itself no slight honor—it is an embodiment of Catholic philosophy presented in contact with the general intellectual environment of the present day. It is a solid, learned, vigorous contribution to our philosophical literature.

Regarding the second book whose title appears above (Dr. Pécsi's "Cursus Brevis"), the reviewer is not warranted to speak with the same assurance, as only the first volume of the entire work, which will comprise two more volumes still in preparation. Estimated, however, by the portion at hand and by the author's avowed aim and method, the work is destined to take a leading place amongst its fellows and to be quite up to date. What impresses one most in perusing the present volume is the singular clarity of the style, the precision of the terminology and logical consecutiveness of the whole exposition. Both in matter and form it is a model text-book—not too brief nor too extended for a two-year course—and, what is not to be lightly deemed, it is almost perfect in its typographical construction. Though it is likely to be less in compass than Dr. Willem's "Institutiones," it will contain "Ethics," a portion of the entire philosophical system which we trust the latter author will also determine to add to his work.

THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST. By *Jesse S. Hildrup*. With thirty-five illustrations from photographs. Oblong octavo, pp. 100. Chicago: A. C. McClure & Co.

The missions of California possess a distinctive charm which shall never die. Every one who comes within their magic circle feels the enchantment which clings to them. As many persons cannot visit them, because of the many difficulties in the way, everything which brings them nearer to us is sure to be warmly welcomed. The book under review does this in a delightful manner by placing before us excellent photographic pictures of the old missions, accompanied by brief but clear and interesting sketches of their history. The author is in warm sympathy with his subject, and therefore makes it more real and lifelike.

THE SPIRITUAL CONFERENCES. Translated from the Annecy Text of 1895, under the supervision of Abbot Gasquet and the late Canon Mackey, O. S. B. 12mo., pp. 406. Burns & Oates, London; Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

It is not surprising that a new edition of the "Spiritual Conferences" of St. Francis de Sales should be called for. Indeed, it would be more surprising if the book did not continue to come from the

press indefinitely. The wisdom of so great a master of the spiritual life is golden and should be scattered broadcast to counteract the effect of the worthless trash which is called literature at the present day. We say this with the full knowledge that the conferences were delivered within the walls of a single convent, and were not written by their author, but from memory by his devout hearers, and therefore might be thought to possess little usefulness beyond the order to which that house belonged, or beyond the sphere of the religious life. We hold, however, with Cardinal Wiseman that they should be read with pleasure and profit by devout persons living in the world, by clergy and laity. The former should find in them invaluable principles and advice for the guidance of consciences, while the latter cannot fail to derive from their study consolation, encouragement and direction.

ON GREGORIAN RHYTHM. I. The Old Manuscripts and the Two Gregorian Schools. By *Alexandre Fleury, S. J.* (Translation by Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.) II. Rhythm as Taught by the Gregorian Masters Up to the Twelfth Century and in Accordance With the Oriental Usage. By *Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.* New York: Reprint from *The Messenger*. Pp. 46. 8vo.

The Vatican Commission established for the purpose of editing an authoritative collection of the "traditional melodies" of Gregorian chant confines its attention to the mere questions surrounding the selection and editing of the musical texts, and is not taking into consideration the further question as to the method proper for the actual rendition of the chants in church. Concerning this matter there are various schools of opinion, which may be resolved generally into two—those, namely, who think they can see in some manuscripts of the chant and in some of the theoretical treatises written in the Middle Ages sufficiently clear indications that the notation used should be interpreted in that mathematical manner in which modern notation is interpreted, the notes having time-values of a mathematical kind; and, opposed to this school, those who believe in the method of "oratorical rhythm," in which the notes are all of equal value, save for the occurrence of certain *morae vocis* or lengthenings due to the occurrence of rhetorical divisions of the text or phrasal sections of the melody. The former school is in the great minority, and in order to obtain an adequate hearing with the student public the Rev. Father Dechevrens, S. J., for very many years a student of ancient and mediæval music, has recently established a magazine entitled *Les Voix de St. Gall* for the purpose of spreading and maintaining the views of this school. The present brochure will be welcomed by all the English-speaking students of the chant

as a brief but sufficiently comprehensive summary of the arguments put forth in defense of the idea of mathematical rhythm. Father Bonvin is recognized as a prominent student of the question of Gregorian rhythm, as well as a composer who has contributed very extensively to the repertoire of correct liturgical music. He has, in translating Part II. of the pamphlet, given to the original a "new form and doctrinal modifications," based most largely on the musical works of Father Dechevrens; while Part I. remains purely a translation, but one enriched by "a number of corrections and amplifications by the author of the French original." The whole pamphlet is abundantly provided with quotations from mediæval authors, both in the original Latin and in English translation (a highly commendable feature, as the original Latin is at times not clear in its implications), and Part II. is rendered especially interesting and valuable by its musical illustrations of the theory as practically applied.

SHORT SERMONS. By *Rev. F. P. Hickey, O. S. B.* With introduction by the Right Rev. *J. C. Hedley, O. S. B.,* Bishop of Newport. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

On more than one occasion we have expressed the opinion that too many sermon books are being published, and that preachers should prepare and use their own sermons, no matter how short and simple they may be. Indeed, we cannot understand how any one can use the missal, the breviary, the ritual, the Bible and the imitation of Christ regularly and rightly without being compelled to preach in spite of himself. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" but he who drinks from these founts will have a mind and heart overflowing with thoughts and affections.

The volume before us does not move us to change our mind in regard to sermon books, but in all fairness to the author, we subjoin what Bishop Hedley says about it:

"To me it appears that the sermons in this volume are fair specimens of what would really catch the attention and do good. Each sermon has unity and the leading idea is steadily worked out. They contain a good deal of instruction of a clear and definite kind—and many preachers fail to give sufficient instruction. The language, though homely, is terse and pointed, avoiding weak and hackneyed phrases. There is no lack of warmth and piety."

CONTEMPLATIVE PRAYER. Venerable Father Augustine Baker's Teachings Thereon, from "Sancta Sophia." By *Dom. B. Weld-Blundell,* monk of the order of St. Benedict. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

So much has been written on this subject and so many methods

have been recommended that one is tempted to think sometimes that it might be best to desert treatises altogether and try to think on the eternal truths without any aid. It would be a mistake to give way to this temptation, because the fault is not with the *master*, but with the *masters*. The old spiritual writers seemed to live nearer to heaven than the young one, and to have a clearer vision. Let them be our guides.

It would almost seem an impertinence to commend in these pages "Sancta Sophia," that famous compendium of Father Baker's treatises on prayer and interior life. The writings of this venerable servant of God have been in the hands of the public for nearly three hundred years, and have proved an invaluable aid to those who would seriously aspire to the practice of contemplation. The fruits of his labors are to be seen in the lives of the many souls his teaching has led through the difficult paths by which the heights of contemplation are reached.

FOLIA FUGITIVA. Leaves from the Log-Book of St. Erconwald's Deanery, Essex. Edited by the Rev. W. H. Cologan, honorary secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. 12mo., pp. 420. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

"In the year of 1897 the members of St. Erconwald's Deanery, moved by the utility and pleasantness of the diocesan conferences, and feeling that such reunions were a great comfort and help to priests living singly and in scattered missions, resolved for the future to carry them on throughout the year. For this purpose they organized a plan by which, when the obligatory conferences had come to an end, they might still meet once a month and at these meetings discuss not merely cases in moral theology, but also many other subjects of great practical utility and interest to priests engaged in pastoral work. The subject for discussion was at first merely notified beforehand by the Rural Dean; the members had the opportunity of preparing their views upon it, and a full discussion of it took place at the conference. After a time, however, it was found that such discussion was sometimes apt to become discursive, and even occasionally irrelevant, simply for want of previous indication of a definite line of treatment. It was, therefore, determined that for the future a paper should always be read on the subject proposed, so that subsequent discussion might be confined within certain lines, and thus lead to greater profit as well as pleasure. Originally the matter chosen was usually some point of pastoral theology selected by the Dean, who also appointed the member who was to treat it. Eventually, however, it was thought advisable to allow rather more latitude in the selection, and the appointed writer was left free

within certain practical limits to choose his own subject. This plan has now worked well for nearly ten years, and the papers that form the matter of this volume are some that at different times have been read before the conference."

If the origin of this book were not given, one might be led to think that it is a collection of essays by different authors on detached subjects. There are eighteen altogether, one by the Right Rev. James Bellord, late Bishop of Mileras, who urged the publication of the collection, and whose urging was most potent in putting it into print. The other papers are principally by the Right Rev. Mgr. Canon Crook and Rev. W. H. Cologan, honorary secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. The subjects vary from "The Number of the Saved" to "Americanism," and invade the fields of theology, moral, pastoral and ascetic, history, canon law and discipline. They are all well written and instructive.

STIMULUS DIVINI AMORIS. That is, The Goad of Divine Love. Very proper and profitable for all devout persons to read. Written in Latin by the Seraphical doctor, *S. Bonaventure*, of the Seraphical order of St. Francis. Englished by B. Lewis A., of the same order. At Doway by the widow of Mary Wyon, *Permission Superiorum* 1642. Revised and edited by W. A. Phillipson, priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., London and Glasgow; Benziger Brothers, New York. (All rights reserved.)

A classic on the subject of Divine Love needs no recommendation. The name of St. Bonaventure is sufficient guarantee that the book is worthy of preservation and perpetuation. It is a matter of surprise that so great a treasure could remain hidden so long as the following declaration from the editor indicates:

"A few years ago an old copy of 'The Goad of Divine Love' came into my possession. As it was imperfect (a number of leaves wanting), I made repeated endeavors to find one that was complete. But so rare, apparently, had the book become that only from the British Museum could I obtain the text of the missing pages. The edition now offered agrees almost entirely with that published at Douai in 1642. The quaint rendering is reproduced, but the spelling has been modernized and a few unimportant and mostly verbal changes have been made. The translation is in English of the seventeenth century. At that epoch our language had words and expressions in common use which nowadays would hardly be permissible. Of these some few I have eliminated altogether and the rest I have toned down that there might remain nothing offensive to pious ears. The title of the book seems to have been a favorite one with ascetical writers, for several 'Stimuli Amoris' were written or compiled between the declining years of the thirteenth and the middle of the

sixteenth centuries. This is, however, by far the most famous of them all and is found in many MMS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

The book is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the Passion of Christ; the second treats of those things which dispose a man to contemplation and fit him for it; the third treats of the quietness of contemplation.

Each chapter is begun with a summary under headings of the contents of the chapter. Sometimes they are closed with prayer which is afire with the love that is begotten of the contemplation through which the devout soul has passed. The book possesses an intrinsic value which makes it current throughout the world, as gold coin in the material order.

HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Rev. E. A. d'Alton, M. R. I. A.* In three volumes. 8vo. Vol. II. From 1547 to 1782. PP. xv.+576. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It must be a gratification to all students to note that Rev. E. A. d'Alton's "History of Ireland," which was begun a short time ago, is already two-thirds done. The work is to be in three volumes and is to include the history of the country from the earliest times to the present day. The first volume brought it down to 1547; the second, which has just come from the press, brings it down to 1782. In our notice of the first volume we dwelt especially on the opinion of it expressed by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Tuam. In accounting for the appearance of the new history of Ireland His Grace said: "It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a fully good history of our country which might be described as a good all around history, full and accurate, well written and impartial."

His Grace adds that the Rev. Father d'Alton has made a praiseworthy beginning of such a work, and continues: "The style is easy and limpid and in description as well as narration he is vivid and frequently picturesque; he possesses the critical faculty in a high degree, and holds the scales of historical justice with an even hand. Moreover, he is a painstaking writer in verifying his authorities. He had the great advantage of a good knowledge of the Gaelic tongue, which enables him to consult for himself the original sources of our early history, and he has not failed to utilize all the state papers and other official documents which the nineteenth century had produced in such profusion."

Even a glance through Father d'Alton's work will convince any one that the author and his work are worthy of all that the Archbishop of Tuam has said about them. The two volumes make a

splendid appearance and they will appeal strongly to the young Irishmen and Irishwomen who are anxiously seeking authoritative information on the history, the literature, the language and the antiquities of their country.

Father d'Alton's work is the more commendable because he is doing it in the midst of his hard labors as a missionary priest. We hope that he will be able to bring the work to completion in the near future, and that he will receive the encouragement from an appreciative reading public which he so richly deserves.

SERMONS. By the *Rev. Dr. Moriarty*, late Bishop of Kerry. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1907.

These sermons appeared originally in two volumes and attracted attention at once by their soundness as to doctrine, clearness as to style and rigor as to form. They have lost none of these good qualities with the passage of time, and have more than held their own in competition.

The present volume is a careful selection of the best sermons of the Most Rev. Dr. Moriarty as they appeared in the two volumes edited by Most Rev. Dr. Coffey, one of his successors. This edition was received so favorably that it rapidly went out of print, and it is in response to a continuous demand that this new edition is now issued. September, 1906.

THE DECREES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. Edited, with an introduction, by the Rev. Vincent McNabb, O. P. 12mo., pp. 47. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Benziger Brothers.

It is surprising that we have not had the decrees of the Vatican Council in English long ago. If it is well to study the text of the Sacred Scriptures, besides reading commentaries on it, so it should be profitable to read the text of the decrees of the General Councils. Those of the Vatican Council are particularly attractive because our recollection goes back to their origin. They are worthy of close study. Witness Father McNabb:

"In presenting to the English reading public 'The Decrees of the Vatican Council' we make no apology for calling it the 'best book' and the most valuable religious relic left to the twentieth century by the nineteenth. It is somewhat surprising that collections of the 'hundred best books,' which usually begin with the Bible and generally include Marcus Aurelius, should give no place to the Acts of the General Councils, though mere literary works have done

little beyond filling vacant hours, and these Acts have renewed the face of the earth.

"Perhaps no General Council has been more naturally fitted than the Vatican Council to produce a masterpiece of religious thought and literature. No assembly of men since the time of Christ has ever been so representative of Christian and national thought. It is literally true to say that the Whitsun tongues of fire fell not on so many nations as were gathered together in Rome July 18, 1870. Hardly one civilized or barbaric nation was unrepresented in the hierarchy. For the first time in the history of the Church every continent of the world sent its representative to bear witness to the truth. When we contrast the 537 Bishops that voted in the last session with the 318 that voted at Nicea for the divinity of the Son of God, and with the 274 that voted at Ephesus for the humanity of Jesus Christ, we begin to see the religious importance of the Vatican Council. We have to remember, moreover, that there was but five Western Bishops at Nicea, and probably less at Ephesus, so that (numerically speaking) Nicea and Ephesus were representative merely of the East, and not wholly representative even of that, whereas the Old World and the New were fully represented at the Vatican.

"Moreover, though the Acta of Nicea are almost wholly lost, it is not improbable that they, like the Acta of Ephesus, were quite as voluminous as those of the Vatican. Yet Nicea lasted only sixty-eight, Ephesus seventy, the Vatican 222 days. It is no exaggeration then to say that as compared with the two earlier Councils, the Vatican was made up of twice as many Bishops, representing ten times as many nations and spending thrice as much time over its decrees. Yet it is to Nicea and Ephesus that we owe the two fundamental doctrines of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ. And men who rightly find no difficulty in accepting the two earlier Councils scruple to accept the last."

HERDER'S KONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON Dritte Auflage reich illustriert durch Textabbildungen, Tafeln und Karten. Achter (Schluss-) Band Spinnerei bis Zz. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$3.50, net.

We congratulate Mr. B. Herder upon the successful completion of the eight volumes of his valuable "Konversations-Lexikon," a welcome complement to his world-renowned "Kircken-Lexikon." He gives expression to his own feeling of relief in terms akin to those of the escaped seafarer who from the shore looks out upon the angry waves. "It was," he says, "a bold venture when, some six years ago, we undertook the heavy task of placing alongside of the already

existing great German books of reference one which should be equally perfect and should contain everything which the modern reader could reasonably expect from a great Lexicon. We were fully aware what an immense expenditure of labor and money was involved in the effort to bring such an undertaking to an honorable issue. Individual voices were heard throwing doubt on the possible success of the venture; but these voices were silent when volume after volume appeared with increasing rapidity, until we are now in the happy position to announce that our labors are completed." This hymn of triumph of the most enterprising Catholic publisher in Christendom is in every sense justified. Such a storehouse of varied information on every subject of interest cannot be found in any eight volumes ever given to the public. We have been using the Lexicon for some time, and have gained knowledge which we had sought elsewhere in vain. It is a model of precision and accuracy of which the German Catholics may justly be proud. We are particularly pleased that it furnishes short biographical notices of prominent persons still living, information usually so difficult to find.

PSALLITE SAPIENTER. Psallieret weise! Erklärung der Psalmen im Geiste des betrachtenden Gebets und der Liturgie. Dem Klerus und Volk gewidmet von *Dr. Maurus Wolter, O. S. B.*, weiland Erzabt von St. Martin zu Beuron. Dritte Auflage. Fünfter (Schluss-) Band. Psalm 121-150. Mit einem Generalregister über alle fünf. Bande. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$2.45, net.

The demand for a third edition of Wolter's commentary on the Psalms is a sufficient proof of its intrinsic worth. It has been extremely popular among the Catholics of Germany since its first appearance in 1871. The author, Dom Maurus Wolter (born at Bonn 1825, died 1890), was the founder of the Benedictine Congregation of Beuron and archabbot of that monastery, which under his able direction has become a prominent factor in the religious life of Germany. The author's method of treating his subject is simple, methodical and comprehensive. He places first in parallel columns the Latin text and a German translation, always beautiful and at times truly poetical. He next gives a literal explanation of the psalm in which, without ostentation, is found a wonderful amount of historical and linguistic erudition. Finally he views the psalm through the medium of the Church's liturgy and ritual, showing how appropriately Holy Mother has applied the text to the needs of her worship. The commentary, as might have been expected from the work of a great Benedictine, is replete with spiritual unction and might serve as an excellent book for meditation and spiritual

retreats. To the end of the fifth volume is appended a general register, greatly facilitating the use of the work.

BIBLIOTHECA ASCETICA MYSTICA. Series operum selectorum quæ consilio atque auctoritate eminentissimi et reverendissimi domini Antonii Cardinalis Fischer, archiepiscopi Coloniensis, denuo edenda curavit *Augustinus Lehmkuhl, S. J.*

MEMORIALE VITAE SACERDOTALIS. Auctore Claudio Arvisenet, olim canonico et vicario generali Trecensi in Gallia. "De Sacrificio Missæ." Tractatus asceticus continens praxim attente, devote et reverenter celebrandi. Auctore Ioanne Cardinali Bona Ord. Cist. (XVI. u. 426.) Friburgi, 1906, sumptibus Herder; geb. in Leinwand mit Lederrücken. Price, net, \$1.10.

MANUALE VITAE SPIRITUALIS continens Ludovici Blosii Opera Spiritualia Selecta. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, net, \$1.10.

It is a happy thought of Cardinal Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, to inspire the reprint in handy little volumes of the best treatises of such masters of the spiritual life as St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Francis de Sales, Blosius, Cardinal Bona and other renowned writers, many of which had slumbered for centuries in ponderous folios and known to the general public, even to the clergy, only by name. Being intended chiefly for the clergy, religious and diocesan, they are given in Latin, some of them translated from the vernacular in which they were originally written. No words of ours are needed to convince the reverend clergy of the importance and opportuneness of this Bibliotheca, which, owing to the abundance of material at hand, may be increased from the projected ten or twelve little volumes to any extent.

A COMMENTARY ON THE PRESENT INDEX LEGISLATION. By *Rev. Timothy Hurley, D. D.*, priest of the Diocese of Elphin, past student of Maynooth College and of the Propaganda Schools, Rome. With a preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin. Browne & Nolan, Dublin.

By his Apostolic Constitution "*Officiorum et Munerum*," dated 25 January, 1897, Pope Leo XIII. issued a revision of the legislation concerning the prohibition and censure of books. This action of the Supreme Pontiff, "though intended primarily," says the Bishop of Elphin, "for the direction of Bishops and other ecclesiastical functionaries occupying positions of responsibility, yet its import affects the public at large to so great an extent that its contents deserve to be placed within the reach of all." This has been done with admirable precision by Dr. Hurley's little treatise. After giving the text of the Pope's letter, the general decrees on the prohibition and censure of books and Benedict XIV.'s constitution on the same subject, which is still in force, he writes his commentary on these three docu-

ments with sufficient fullness and remarkable lucidity. Those who are of opinion that English-speaking countries are exempt from obeying the legislation of the Church on the subject of the prohibition and censure of books ought to ponder well the following decision of the Congregation of the Index (page 50):

"Utrum dicta Constitutio (Officiorum ac Munerum) vim obligatoriam habeat, etiam pro regionibus britannici idiomatis, quas frui tacita dispensatione quidam arbitrantur? Resp.: Affirmative.

"Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Cong. Indices die 23 Maii, 1898.

"A. CARD. STEINHUBER, Praef.

"FR. M. A. CICOGNANI, O. P., Sec."

We extend to this valuable and timely little book a hearty welcome and recommend it to the reverend clergy.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramic based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, as translated by Edward Robinson, late professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edited with a constant reference to the Thesaurus of Gesenius as completed by E. Rodiger, and with authorized use of the latest German editions of Gesenius' Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, by Francis Brown, D. D., D. Litt., Davenport professor of Hebrew and the cognate languages in the Union Theological Seminary, with the coöperation of S. R. Driver, D. D., Litt. D., Regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Charles A. Briggs, D. D., D. Litt., Edward Robinson, professor of Biblical theology in the Union Theological Seminary. Boston, New York and Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1906. Price, net, \$7.50.

Although William Gesenius died in 1842, and a large host of competent scholars have since then gone on developing in every direction the study of the Semitic languages, nevertheless, to the present day, the name of "the father of modern Hebrew Lexicography" is as closely identified with the Hebrew Dictionary as that of Euclid with geometry. His Dictionary was made known to the English-speaking students of Hebrew by Dr. Robinson, of New York, who was assisted in his translation by the author himself. Robinson's translation, often edited and revised until his death in 1863, has remained until now almost the sole fount of Hebrew accessible to ordinary students. In the meantime Semitic studies have been pursued on all hands with energy and success. The language and text of the Old Testament have been subjected to a minute and searching inquiry before unknown. The languages cognate with Hebrew have claimed the attention of specialists in nearly all civilized countries. Wide fields of research have been opened, the very existence of which was a surprise, and have invited explorers. Arabic, ancient and modern, Ethiopic, with its allied

dialects, Aramaic, in its various literatures and localities, have all yielded new treasures; while the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria, Phœnicia, Northern Africa, Southern Arabia, and other old abodes of Semitic peoples, have contributed to a far more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew vocabulary in its sources and its usage than was possible forty or fifty years ago. In Germany an attempt has been made to keep pace with advancing knowledge by frequent editions of the "Handwörterbuch," as well as by the brilliant and suggestive, though unequal, "Wörterbuch" of Siegfried and Stade (in 1892-93), but in England and America there has not been heretofore even so much as a serious attempt.

An up-to-date edition was therefore badly needed, and the editors tell us that this new lexicon "owes its origin to Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., of Boston, Mass., holders of the copyright of 'Robinson's Gesenius,' and long its publishers. The present editors were authorized by them to undertake the work as a revision of that book. The late Mr. Henry O. Houghton, senior member of the firm, gave the project his especial attention, devoting much time to personal conference with the American editors and making a visit to Oxford for a discussion of the matter with Professor Driver, and with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, whose coöperation he received. It is a matter of deep regret that his life was not spared to see the completion of an enterprise in which he took so sympathetic an interest.

Of prime importance to the Catholic scholar in examining the Lexicon is the attitude adopted by the editors towards the interpretation of the texts of the Messianic prophecies, which have been, for all time, authoritatively expounded by the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. We are pleased to notice a great advance towards orthodoxy in the present Dictionary. We shall content ourselves with noticing two specimens—the benediction of Juda (Gen. xlix., 10) and the prophecy of Isaias (vii., 14). The second of these great texts, "Behold a virgin (Heb. *Almah*) shall conceive" may be pronounced the corner-stone of the Christian faith. Yet in spite of Matthew i., 2-3, "Robinson's Gesenius" has the audacity to say that '*Almah* is incorrectly translated by "virgin," contending that it means "a bride, a youthful spouse," thus rendering the entire text nugatory. The new edition wisely refrains from controversy and renders '*Almah* "a young woman (maid or newly married)." So, in the benediction of Juda, "The sceptre shall not depart," etc., while Gesenius strove hard to demonstrate that "Shiloh" was the name of a town, and that there was no reference to the coming Messiah, we are pleased to notice that the present editors concur with the Hebrew

and Christian interpretation that such reference is found in the obscure term.

By a rapid system of abbreviations, which one must first master to understand the book, the learned editors have been able to include a vast amount of materials in comparatively small space. Altogether the publication is one in which American scholarship of the first rank shows to the best advantage. The twenty-three years spent in compiling it were years well spent.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIVING WATER: or, Thoughts on the Holy Ghost for Every Day in the Year. Collected and arranged by Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL. D., author of the "Sunday School Teachers' Manual," etc. With preface by the Right Rev. Regis Canevin, D. D., Bishop of Pittsburg. Fr. Pustet & Co., publishers and booksellers, Ratisbon, Rome, New York and Cincinnati, 1907.

Those who are familiar with Father Lambing's previous books on the Holy Ghost, and their merits, will welcome this fuller compilation. The many and all approved sources from which these selections are taken, and the accuracy and zeal of the editor in culling them and arranging them is most edifying. He tells of his work thus:

"The selections in this volume are of a devotional and instructive character and are intended to raise the mind and heart of the child of God daily to the Holy Spirit, renewing the recollection of His divine presence and the source and fountain of all true light, love, fortitude and sanctification. There is no connection between the selections, but each is complete in itself, so that it may furnish its own peculiar pious sentiment for the day.

"So much of the little we find in religious works regarding the Third Person of the Adorable Trinity centres around the Incarnation, the feast of Pentecost and the Seven Gifts that care had to be taken not to dwell too much on these, but to give the selections as great a variety as possible, so as the better to adapt them to every disposition of mind. If it should appear to some readers that too many quotations have been taken from certain authors, it is well to bear in mind that some of their publications are composed of several volumes, and that others are the writings not of one, but of a number of authors, as in the case of sermon books.

"Each month begins with an appropriate text from the Sacred Scriptures. A few selections will be met with that do not relate directly to the Holy Spirit, but the reason for their insertion will, it is believed, appear obvious.

"Finally it may be stated that every selection—and they are taken

from more than one hundred writers—is copied from the original work, and none is taken at second hand.”

IRELAND AND ST. PATRICK. By *William Bullen Morris*, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. 12mo., pp. 307. Fourth edition. London, Burns & Oates, Ltd.; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Benziger Brothers.

Father Morris' book on Ireland and St. Patrick is a classic. It is not surprising that it has already reached a fourth edition. It will be surprising if it does not in the future reach the fortieth edition. It deserves it, not only because of the meat that is in it, for this alone does not always attract the reading public, but it deserves it especially because of the manner in which the meat is served. The work is brief, being confined to five chapters, or essays, with the following titles: "St. Martin and St. Patrick," "Adrian IV. and Henry Plantagenet," "St. Patrick's Work, Past and Present," "The Saints and the World," "The Future." But the care with which these essays have been written, the extent of the bibliography from which they have been drawn, the variety and strength of quotation, especially from non-Catholic authors, the skillful marshaling of forces, with a keen knowledge of their respective values, the correctness of language and charm of style—all combine to make the book so attractive that it is a pleasure and not a task to read. This is high praise indeed for a book on so ancient and well-worn a subject as Ireland and St. Patrick.

MARY, THE MOTHER OF CHRIST. In Prophecy and Fulfillment. Controversial Letters in Vindication of the Position Assigned by the Catholic Church to the Ever Blessed Mother of the World's Redeemer in the Divine Economy of Man's Salvation. In reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Kingdon, Coadjutor (Anglican) Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick, and his vicar, "John M. Davenport, priest of the Mission Church," ritualist minister, St. John, New Brunswick. By *Richard F. Quigley, K. C., LL. B.* (Harvard and Boston Universities), doctor of philosophy (Leo XIII.), doctor of letters (Laval), barrister-at-law, St. John, New Brunswick, Canada. Third edition. Fr. Pustet & Co., publishers and booksellers, Ratisbon, Rome, New York, Cincinnati, 1907.

It is surely a sign of permanent value when a work so expensive as the one before us, and which was originally the result of a controversy, appears in a new and revised edition after twenty years; and the sign is not misleading. It was indeed a matter of surprise that a layman and lawyer should champion the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God against an Anglican Bishop. And the wonder grew as the controversy went on, far beyond the expectations of the contending parties, no doubt, until the case was complete, with a mass of evidence marshaled in true

legal style by the barrister, on which every fair-minded judge has given him the verdict. If it could be done, it might be well some time in the future to condense the book into briefer form. Perhaps it is not possible. All controversies are more or less local, more or less personal and generally rather verbose. If the history of the controversy could be reduced to brief form, and the arguments thrown into concise shape, we should have a really valuable book on the subject under discussion, and one that would be much more extensively and profitably used. This is not said to disparage in any degree the work before us, but rather to enhance its value. The author's motive for entering into the controversy is stated in the following quotation, which is worth reproducing because of its general application:

"What I desiderate in Protestant teachers is a knowledge of the Catholic doctrines they attack. In the conscientious discharge of their duties from their standpoint they may feel themselves obliged to point out errors (so-called) in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Of this no reasonable man can complain, but for heaven's sake let them first learn exactly what these doctrines are. We will then have less wild figments of hysterical imaginations and pendentium caricatures of beliefs, in defense of which the mightiest intellects that ever adorned our race have found their highest sphere, and of which genius allied with sanctity have ever been the most persuasive and enthusiastic exponents.

"Here I appeal for 'more light' on the part of virtuous and high-minded Protestants. I would excite a spirit of inquiry and create a distrust of impressions mechanically imbibed in youth and perpetuated and permanently fixed by more serious studies on the same lines. I would force back the honest mind upon the sources of its knowledge, induce it to reconsider the process by which its religious convictions touching Catholic doctrine were formed, and with a more mature knowledge of the conclusions to reinvestigate the premises on which it is grounded. The Catholic Church, I delight to proclaim, has nothing to fear from the closest and most minute investigation. It is ignorance which is the great Anti-Christ, and sincere inquiry and honest research are the only antidote."

IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD. New York, 1857-1907. By *Katherine E. Conway*—from the convent annals and from personal study of the work. 12mo., pp. 266. Illustrated. Convent of the Good Shepherd, East Nineteenth street, New York City, 1907.

The Convent of the Good Shepherd in New York city celebrated on the feast of the Holy Angels, October 2, 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Of the two hundred and sixty-two con-

vents of the order founded since the institution of the generalate in 1835 there is none whose situation compelled a more rapid local development and none which more promptly responded to its almost unequalled opportunities. This is now evident in the number of its religious, their fidelity to their high calling, the esteem which they have won from the Church and State and the numbers and importance of their foundations.

As a lasting memorial of this celebration this excellent historical sketch of the community in New York has been written by Miss Conway in her best style. There is no more convincing way of proving the just claim of the Church to the distinctive mark of holiness than by writing the history of her religious communities. Here we see not only the Gospel precepts obeyed, but the Gospel counsels followed. Here we witness that striving after the perfect life which Our Divine Lord counselled when He said to the young man who was in the way of salvation by the observance of the commandment: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell what thou hast, give to the poor and follow Me." If those who are surprised and sometimes scandalized by the presence of sinners in the church could only be induced to turn their eyes on the saints, canonized and not canonized, they would be immeasurably edified. Hence the publication of a history like this has a value which extends far beyond the occasion which calls it into being. It is, comparatively speaking, only a chapter in the history of a great diocese, only a page in the history of an immense country, only an incident in the history of the Universal Church, and yet complete history is made up of just such incidents, pages and chapters.

The growth of this community in New York from such small beginnings to its present splendid proportions, the number of vocations which it has fostered, the multitude of souls which it has saved, the group of other houses in adjoining dioceses to which it has given root—all combine to make up a history which should be written in gold for all time.

ST. BRIGID, PATRONESS OF IRELAND. By *Rev. J. A. Knowles, O. S. A.*, St. Augustine's, Cork. 12mo., pp. 292. Illustrated. Dublin: Printed by Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 24 and 25 Nassau street.

In this volume the author has endeavored to place before his readers a concise and popular narration of the life and labors of St. Brigid, the patroness of Ireland. The facts and legends, which abound in its pages, he has carefully selected from the most reliable and authentic sources.

The present time seems to him opportune and propitious for the

publication of the class of literature to which this volume claims to belong. There exists amongst the Irish reading public a marked preference for books that deal with the religious or national history of our country. This sound and desirable condition of our literary tastes is mainly attributable to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Gaelic League and other kindred organizations.

The immediate occasion of this publication was the centenary of the foundation of the Order of St. Brigid. It was wise and commendable to emphasize the importance of the occasion by publishing the life of the patroness. Father Knowles' Bishop says to him:

"You have placed, not alone the Sisters of St. Brigid and the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, but also Irishmen and Irishwomen wherever they may be, under a deep debt of gratitude to you by the very interesting life of their great patroness which you have just given them. . . . You have succeeded in producing a very readable, edifying and instructive life of the Irish saint who was second only to St. Patrick himself. . . . The devout clients of St. Brigid at home and abroad will read your work with great pleasure and profit, and will thank you for bringing within their reach the only life of St. Brigid which has any claim to be regarded as complete."

The abundance of legend in the book may not appeal to the historical student, but they are all very beautiful and refreshing. Legend is sometimes so closely related to history as to bear a very strong resemblance to it. It also throws so strong a light on historic facts as to bring them out much more clearly. As long as legend does not masquerade, it is pleasing and valuable.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, and Its Influence Upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. A study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together with Some Considerations of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State. By *George Haven Putnam, Litt. D.* In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 375 and 510. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press, 1906.

In these two handsome volumes the author has gathered together a valuable collection of true historic value. He shows clearly his desire to be historically correct and to be fair in his deductions. He succeeds better in the former than in the latter effort. He thus declares his purpose:

"In these volumes I have undertaken to present a record of the Indexes which have been issued under the authority of the Church of Rome, or which, having been compiled by ecclesiastics, were published under authority of the State between the year of 1546 (the date of the first list of prohibited books which may properly be

described as an Index) and 1900, in which year was issued the second Index of Leo XIII., the latest in the Papal series.

"To this record I have added a selection of the more noteworthy examples of censorship during the earlier centuries of the Church (a list which begins with a curious prohibition in 150, probably the earliest instance of censorship by a Church Council); a schedule of the more important of the decrees, edicts, pastoral briefs, etc., issued under ecclesiastical authority which had to do with the matter of censorship, and a specification of certain censorship regulations which before the publication of the first Index came into force in several States in Europe. Such a schedule of decrees and regulations can, of course, lay no claim to completeness. I attempted simply to present examples of prohibitions and condemnations, from decade to decade, which were typical or characteristic, and from which some impression could be gathered as to the nature and extent of the censorship experiments throughout the centuries in the several communities concerned.

"A brief account has been added of the organization and of the operations of the Roman Inquisition and of the Congregation of the Index, as it was from these bodies that emanated the series of Papal Indexes, and with them rested from the middle of the sixteenth century, the responsibility for the shaping of the general policy of the Church in regard to censorship. The plan of the treatise does not render it practicable to attempt any general survey of political censorship or of censorship of the State, but I have presented a brief selection of examples of State action in censorship, in order to make the necessary comparison between the methods followed by the State and those of the Church, and to make clear that the censorship of the Roman Church was (at least outside of Spain) not so autocratic in its principles nor so exacting and burdensome in its methods, as was the censorship which was from time to time attempted by State governments acting for most part under Protestant influence."

Although the author states that in the composition of his work he received valuable assistance from some American ecclesiastics, and although he evidently tried to treat his subject from the true and proper standpoint, it shows clearly that it is the work of a non-Catholic. It is not an exposition of the present Index legislation. Neither is it an explanation of the theological or ethical reasons why some classes of works ought to be and are forbidden, nor a defense of the Church's attitude in claiming the right of censorship over other classes. The scope of the author is rather to arrange chronologically the various acts of legislation of the Church, and also of a great many of the civil governments, ancient and modern, dealing with literature. In this he has succeeded admirably.

THE FATHERS OF THE DESERT. Translated from the German of the Countess Hahn-Hahn by Emily F. Bowden. With a Chapter on the Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries, by John Bernard Dalgairns, priest of the Oratory. Two volumes. 12mo., pp. 296 and 310. London: Burns & Oates.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1867. It attracted a great deal of attention at that time, because the authoress, who was a convert to the Catholic faith at an advanced age, was already well known for her writings on travel and fiction. She had traveled much in Europe and in countries which were at that time visited by few persons and seldom by ladies on account of the difficulties in the way. This was especially true of the East, and therefore the Countess first became famous by her "Letters from the East," which attracted great attention by the boldness and originality of her views, the vividness of her descriptions of scenery and the beauty of the style. After her conversion she lived a solitary and devout life in a convent at Mayence.

She has written a series of books on the history of the Church, of which the one before us is not the least important. The knowledge which she gained during her travels in the East fitted her especially for it, and her mode of life afterwards enabled her to use that knowledge to the best advantage. Hence we find in the book not only the fullest and best picture of the primitive monks which had appeared in English up to that time, but we also find it made more interesting by beautiful descriptions of scenes visited by the writer and a great deal of information on heathen as well as ecclesiastical subjects.

A very valuable portion of the book is contributed by Father Dalgairns, of the Oratory, in an introduction of seventy-four pages on "The Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries." Indeed, this essay is well worthy of separate, distinct and perpetual existence. A peculiar feature of it after more than forty years of existence is its peculiar fitness to the present time. This feature of it makes the following quotation worth while:

"The lives of the Saints of the Desert have ever exercised a wonderful influence over the minds, not only of Catholics, but of all who call themselves Christians; nor is it difficult to comprehend why it should be so now more than ever. The age in which we live distinguishes itself above all others by a restless longing to realize the past. Men are searching bog and marsh, moor and river, the wide expanse of downs, the tops of mountains and the bottom of lakes to find out how our ancestors lived, and to reproduce the men of the age of stone, bronze or iron. The same sort of yearning curiosity exercises itself on the early Christians. If we had only Eusebius and Sozomen, it would be utterly impossible to picture to ourselves what were our ancestors in Christ. The Catacombs tell us much, but they are comparatively dumb. In the lives of the Desert Saints

we have a most strangely authentic insight into the very hearts and thoughts as well as the way of life of men and women who lived hundreds of years ago. They are extraordinarily authentic, for the marvelous facts which they contain are vouched for by writers such as St. Athanasius, who probably knew St. Anthony, and by St. Jerome. In most cases we have the account, almost the journals of men who, like Cassian, Palladius and Moschus, traveled conscientiously to visit the marvelous population of Nitria and the Thebaid. Palgrave and Livingston tell us far less of the tents of the Bedouins and the huts of the Negroes than these writers tell us of the daily life and the very gossip of the monastery. There is a freshness and a bloom, a cheerfulness and a frankness about these monks and hermits which has an inexpressible charm. It seems as if the men who had been trained to silence and contemplation, when they did speak, spoke like children, with their heart on their lips, so good humoredly did they answer the somewhat tiresome questions of inquisitive travelers. Such men as these are too real to be accounted for on any theory of myths, and, wonderful as are the tales told of them, they can hardly be consigned to the class of legendary literature, when vouched for by such men as St. Athanasius. These monks look out upon us from the darkness of the past with a vividness and simplicity which show that they considered that their existence in this busy world needed neither apology nor proof. The strangely beautiful virtues which they practiced serve as their defense even with the most unascetic. Even writers of a school most opposed to mysticism have forgotten its principles and been caught in the net of the charity and sweetness of these solitaires. Their usefulness has found favor for them in the eyes of the most hostile. It is impossible to find fault with a man who, like St. Anthony, presents himself after years of silence, prayer and fasting, at the door of his cave with a bloom on his cheek and a smile on his lip, and who condescends to use something like gentlemanly chaff with the philosopher who came to see him. There is at once a gulf between him and a fakir. He fully vindicates his usefulness who is the consoler and the confidante and spiritual guide of half Egypt. Even St. Simeon Stylites can hardly be said to be lost to the world when he converted Arabs and barbarians of various races. There is evidence enough in the following pages that the cell of the hermit in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries was the refuge of the poor and the suffering and the outcast. The monk of the desert was a Carthusian, a Sister of St. Vincent of Paul and a nun of the Good Shepherd all in one. Never were men less rigorous to others than these who were so rigid to themselves. No man of the world was ever less narrow-minded than those solitaires of the

desert. At the time when the Church was most severe in her discipline they are ever preaching that a repentance of one day is enough, if it be profound, ever singing hymns of joy over sinners, who instantly receive the Holy Communion, ever dwelling on stories like that of St. Pelagia, who bears down all the canons which would delay her reception into the Church by the fervor of her conversion."

In addition to its historical interest and its descriptive interest, the book has an additional value as a link between the ancient and modern true Church, because it shows that there is, strictly speaking, no ancient Church as distinct from the modern Church, because she is ever ancient though ever new, and because she is always one in faith and practice. Father Dalgairns brings out this thought in excellent form when he says:

"I trust that I have said enough to show the bearing of such books as that here presented to the public on the history of the Church, and the use which we can draw from them for our own spiritual good. The more that we study that ancient Church, the more we shall be convinced of what our faith has already told us, that we are absolutely one with it. This is true not only in great dogmas, but also in our life and practice. I hope that I have already elsewhere shown that, if we take into consideration the actual practice of the ancient Church, its conduct in the confessional was by no means so different from ours as the mere study of the canons might lead us to suppose. Something has been done in these few pages to point out the same fact as to our interior life, though volumes might be written upon the subject. The lives of the desert saints may thus be useful in regulating our own life. The insight which is here given into these peaceful solitudes may help us to correct the tendency to overactivity, which penetrates even into our very religion. The railroad pace of the world hurries even good Christians along with it, and they fling themselves into schemes of active benevolence in a way which is often injurious to their interior life. It produces a combined restlessness and languor, a physical exhaustion of nerve and brain which is very perilous. Never did Christians want more prayer than now, for the world is all in confusion and the time is out of joint, and before we attempt to set it right we had better begin with ourselves. All is floating and uncertain. Landmarks, intellectual and political, are torn up and men are drifting, they know not whither. Nothing will save us from danger but an intellect, a heart and a mode of life entirely one, exteriorly and interiorly, with the ever-living Church of Christ. There is no possible Christian life but in the old path of mortification and prayer. Along this path the saints in every age have borne their cross. Throughout all its various forms sanctity is still identical, nor do I see very much

difference between St. Simeon Stylites on his pillar and the Curé d'Ars in his cramped confessional. May they obtain grace for us to follow them, if not in their heroic penance, yet at least in their interior life, in boundless charity for our sinful and suffering brethren and their burning love for Jesus and Mary."

For this reason especially a new edition of the book is appropriate at this time, when so many earnest persons are trying to convince themselves that the Church of the Apostles and the Fathers of the Desert is one with the Church of the present day, which claims them as her children. By this road some of the greatest minds of modern times found their way to the only safe haven of rest in this world of doubt, and by this same road numberless others will finally enter.

INDULGENCES, THEIR ORIGIN, NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT. By the *Rev. Father Alexius M. Lepicier, O. S. M., S. Th. M.*, professor of divinity in the College of Propaganda, Rome; consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and Holy Relics, etc. New and enlarged edition. 12mo., pp. 500, with Index. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Ten years' trial is a good test of a book. If it is on a standard subject and is not displaced in that time, it has permanent value and should hold its place indefinitely. Father Lepicier produced such a book ten years ago or more, and it appears again. His explanation of his purpose and plan is so lucid that it deserves reproduction rather than paraphrasing:

"The first idea of writing a book on the subject of indulgences presented itself to the author's mind while engaged in giving some lectures on this important subject. The thought gradually impressed him that both enlightened believers might find a confirmation of their faith and inquisitive minds assistance in their search after truth if this point of Catholic dogma were set before them in a concise manner, and yet with all possible clearness. For the doctrine of indulgences is closely connected with the main tenets of our faith, such as the imputableness of sin and good works, the efficacy of atonement and regeneration, the communion of saints and the power of the keys.

"But such a study, he found, could not be satisfactorily complete unless a sketch of the history of the practice of indulgences in the Church were added to the doctrinal exposition of the dogma. Holy Scripture, then, was first to be consulted and asked to put forth its own evidence on the matter in hand. Then history was to be referred to from Apostolic times to the period of persecutions and of subsequent peace, and thence through the pilgrimages, crusades and jubilees of the Middle Ages down to the epoch of the Reformation, and from it to our own days.

"Again, it became evident to the author's mind that a right understanding of the doctrine and practice regarding indulgences is not to be obtained unless a brief account of the penitential discipline as used in the primitive Church is added to the exposition of Catholic truth. On the other hand, those practices of earlier days should not be a dead letter for a son of Holy Church, as they teach him what his forefathers in the faith were able to bear; and so the recollection of that discipline is calculated to act on him as a spur, rousing him from his torpor and urging him to regulate his own conduct by what he knows of the generosity and steadiness of his fathers in the faith. Apart, then, from the close connection which the penitential practices have with our own subject, which they should rouse in a Christian heart, will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for the introduction of several chapters bearing on that matter."

The new edition has the great advantage of being brought out by the original author. He tells us that from the time of the first appearance of the work, in 1895, he has continued his researches on this all-important subject. He submitted the dogmatic teaching to a fresh examination and carefully verified the historical facts connected with it; he embraced every opportunity to consult works, ancient and new, on the subject of indulgences and kindred subjects. As an indication of the thoroughness of the author's closeness of observation, we learn that he has taken Mr. Henry C. Lea's book on indulgences into consideration. His observations on that author and his much lauded production are very interesting. He says:

"About the same time a writer, well known for his systematic attack on Catholic practices, brought out a book on indulgences, their origin and development, which created a certain amount of sensation. This writer was Mr. Henry Charles Lea, LL. D., who, in a bulky volume of 629 pages, concentrated all his arguments to the evident object of justifying the charge brought on indulgences by the Twenty-second Article of the Church of England, which declares 'the Romish doctrine concerning . . . pardons . . . (to be) a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.'

"At first sight the endless list of references, generally exact as to title and page, put forth by the author stands out as a mighty army in battle array ready to overthrow the teaching of the Catholic Church on pardons and indulgences. A mere perusal of Mr. Lea's work makes it evident that his purpose was to skillfully direct his forces towards showing Catholic theologians busy in drawing the institution of indulgences out of nothing and vainly endeavoring to conciliate this doctrine with Scripture and tradition. In the meantime, the author loses no opportunity of representing the prelates of

the Church as eagerly laying hold of the system in which they believed only as a financial device to satiate their greed of money by artfully drawing on the wealth of the Christian people through the granting of untimely and unwarranted pardons.

"Though presented as a bold defiance to Catholic doctrine, Mr. Lea's colossal statue is easily found on examination to stand on feet of clay. The work bears such evident marks of the mould which it was forcibly made to fit that it must be pronounced to be a presentation of subjective views rather than an exposition of historical truth. For, notwithstanding the exactness of a good many statements, the lines on which the work has been drawn are mapped out by such ill-disguised prepossessions as to leave no doubt about the intention that guided its author. We all know how often false inferences may follow from true premises. Hence we may say of this volume what a writer has said of the same author's previous work on 'Auricular Confession'—that 'it may be read as a curiosity, but not as a history—not even as a history that one might think it worth his while to refute.' (Rev. H. Casey, S. J.)

"However this may be, the fact is that many readers not having the means to study the questions of indulgences for themselves, may probably have been dazzled by the show of erudition which Mr. Lea's book presents. Hence, in further examining this subject, in view of a new French edition, the present writer thought it his duty to carefully read Mr. Lea's work, and to select here and there such points as seemed to him to be deserving of special consideration, confronting them with what true history teaches and the Catholic Church really holds.

"The result of this inquiry was then embodied in the French translation of the Italian edition on indulgences which appeared in 1901, containing besides many remarks on Mr. Lea's works, considerable additions both on the practice and the objective value of indulgences, the author having previously had the opportunity of reconsidering his subject, particularly in an essay published on the occasion of the great jubilee granted by Leo XIII. to the whole world in 1900."

It can be seen at a glance that such a book is invaluable because complete and trustworthy on a subject which will always be one of misrepresentation, misunderstanding and controversy. Here the teacher and student may stand without fear of being moved or

THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES. By *Mary H. Allies*. 12mo., pp. 208. Illustrated. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Brothers.

This glimpse into the inner life and early history of one who has done so much for the perpetuation of the true faith is interesting,

pathetic, informing and stimulating. A man who began life almost with the beginning of the nineteenth century and ended it almost with its close, having been born in 1813 and having died in 1903, would be an interesting personage in any station of life; but an intellectual, educated Oxford clergyman, who came in contact with the prominent men in Church and State of the epoch in which he lived, and who found his way, as so many others did, and as a still larger number failed to do, "*per crucem ad lucem*," is worthy of our highest admiration.

The quotations from his diary in regard to his early struggles and ambitions, as well as the entries concerning his efforts to advance himself spiritually, show his candor and honesty. His early decision as to his vocation to the married state and his deliberate search for a wife is edifying and might well be recommended to the young men of the present time. He soon made his choice, and he followed it persistently. Some of the details of his courtship might have been omitted, but they serve a good purpose.

He entered the ministry (Anglican) in 1838, was married in 1840, being at that time examining chaplain to the Bishop of London, which office he continued to hold until 1842, when he was made rector of Launton, in Oxfordshire. He remained there until he left it to enter the Catholic Church in 1850. He hated to leave London and take up residence in the country. He was even at that time a ripe scholar, longing for intercourse with intellectual minds, and also to win souls, and he found himself in the midst of a simple, untutored farming community who must have tried him sorely. After a two years' experience he says: "The state of the people here is frightful." He very soon discovered that he could not reach his farmers' souls. One day when he was trying to set before a dying parishioner the delights of heaven, the old man said to him: "It may all be very well, sir, but old England for me." On another occasion when he was preaching about Joseph, the husband of Mary, a personage his parishioners had never heard of, for they knew only one Joseph, and he was the son of Jacob, one of his hearers said: "He must have been very old, sir."

Fortunately Mr. Allies came under the influence of John Henry Newman about the time that he began to turn his eyes on the true Church, and he chose him for confessor and director. He did not follow Newman blindly, however, as we learn from himself. At the time of Newman's conversion, in 1845, Allies said: "Much as I revered him, greatly as I felt I had gained from him, and though I loved him as much after he had left us as before, I did not blindly follow him. I waited for his book on Development, and when it came I fixed upon a page and a half describing the primacy of St.

Peter and the Popes, as it was exhibited in the first three centuries. I said: 'I will test these statements. The question of the primacy includes the whole question between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. I will follow this subject faithfully to its issue, and wherever it leads I will go.' That was in October, 1845, and it cost me five years of prayer and study before the question which I had chosen to determine the controversy landed me safely on the Rock of Peter."

In speaking of the doubts and anxieties of those five years, he says afterwards: "I feel like the man who rode his horse over a bridge of boats one night, and when he saw what he had done the next day he died of fright." Visits to France and Italy and contact with the Catholic body, both lay and cleric, helped him very much. A striking proof of the earnestness and fearlessness of Mr. Allies and his wife is found in her conversion before him. In the spring of 1850 she said: "If Tom does not make haste, I shall go first." She could not understand his hesitation, and in May, 1850, she crossed the threshold. The immediate occasion was the famous Gorham decision. After her baptism she said to her husband: "Now you are a heretic and I am not." He followed her in six months. Then began for them a life of struggle, but also a blessed life. But the subsequent history is well. Mr. Allies' staunch devotion to the Church, and especially to the Apostolic See, was noble. His writings are his greatest and most fitting monument. His labors for Catholic education were continuous, unflagging and fruitful in the highest degree. His example is invaluable, especially at this time, when God is knocking so loudly at the hearts of so many who, like Mr. Allies, are outside the true fold and yet are trying to persuade themselves that they are in it.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., L. L. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., L. L. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. II., pp. 804, with illustrations, maps and colored reproductions. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

The prompt appearance of the second volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia must have given genuine pleasure to every lover of truth who knows the work and who examined the first volume. No one acquainted with the learned staff of editors doubted for a moment their eminent ability to plan the work and carry it on in a manner unexcelled by any similar work in any language. It was also universally acknowledged that they would fulfill every promise they made in regard to it, giving rather more than less, as far as lay

in their power. But in so extensive an undertaking, requiring the coöperation of so many persons, scattered so widely and speaking different tongues, who first had to be found and then consulted and finally engaged with the necessary limitations as to time and space and treatment, the danger of delay and even failure in some directions was quite imminent. Add to this the necessity of filling up gaps made by death or other unforeseen causes, and one could not rid himself of some doubt as each successive step was taken in the process of making. And then there was the question of funds. Would the subscriptions increase as they should after the appearance of the first volume? Would the advance payments come up to the standard of expectation? Would the public show that confidence in the editors and publishers which their success called for and which they could justly claim?

The appearance of the second volume seems to settle all these doubts and to answer yes to all these questions. It proves that the first volume was not a show piece to catch the public, but the beginning of an indispensable unexcelled work of reference which will remain the standard for many years. Indeed, one may well question if it will ever be supplanted. There will be new editions in the distant future, with the addenda which time and development will demand, but the foundation now laid will serve for an indefinite time.

The new volume extends from Assize to Bro. It contains 930 articles by about 265 contributors. Nearly one-half of these appear for the first time. They represent every nation on the face of the earth and every great interest. They write on every important subject within the scope of the volume.

As a rule the articles are written by specialists, but not in a technical manner. On the contrary, the writers have universally followed the popular form, as far as it is consistent with truth.

We hardly think it wise or altogether fair to pick out particular articles and criticize them. The writers are invariably persons of the highest standing who have been chosen because of their peculiar fitness to handle the subjects assigned to them. Within a few general rules their work must be to a very great extent subjective. There is a wide latitude for difference of opinion as to the relative merits of subjects and as to the point of view from which they are to be approached. For these and other reasons the detailed treatment of each subject hardly has a place in a review of the book as a whole. We do not wish to be understood as apologizing for mistakes or failures. If any exist, and we are frank to admit that we have not found any, nor have we searched for them, they are so few and insignificant as to be hardly worthy of notice in comparison with so much that is excellent.

The editors should be congratulated again on their eminent success. They should be encouraged in word and deed. Catholics should subscribe for the book at once as a testimony of their appreciation, as an encouragement to the editors and publishers, as a mark of confidence and to help to bring the work to completion. There is a still stronger reason founded on a higher motive. They should subscribe as Catholics to the completion and perfecting of this organ of Catholic truth, whose value and importance cannot be exaggerated. Finally, there is a motive which is not unworthy, but rather less worthy, namely, that each volume, irrespective of the others, has a distinctive value, because each is a complete collection of well written, trustworthy articles by the best authors on the subjects within its scope.

THE SECRETS OF THE VATICAN. By *Douglas Sladen*. With sixty illustrations and plans, including reproductions of the most interesting engravings in Pistolesi's great work on the Vatican. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company; London: Hurst & Blacklett, Ltd., 1907. 8vo., pp. 505.

This is a beautiful book from every point of view. It is also very instructive. As we are going to let the author tell of his plan and purpose in his own words, we shall not touch on them. We think his title unfortunate, because we fear many persons will expect revelations in the moral order. He tells us that he is a Protestant gentleman. We might not have guessed it.

"The revolt of the French Government with regard to the constitution of the Church, which has made the word Vatican a household word for months past, can best be compared to the revolt of Henry VIII. of England in the sixteenth century.

"But the Vatican, *i. e.*, the Papal Government of to-day, is as different from the Vatican of that day as the ship of to-day is from the obsolete vessel of the sixteenth century, with its clumsy castles at bow and stern and primitive rigging. The Vatican hierarchy, with its elaborate machinery of Pope and Cardinals, Princes in attendance on the Throne, its Privy and Honorary Chamberlains, lay and clerical, of a dozen different orders; its Cancellaria, its Dataria, its Rota, its Sacred Congregations and Pontifical Commissions, its Cardinal Secretary of State and its Maggiordomo, is a piece of machinery as elaborate as the great ocean liner of to-day. The Propaganda Fide, the Holy Office (of the Inquisition), the Index Expurgatorius of Books, are by no means of the past.

"Yet, as fortune would have it, this prolonged and strenuous crisis between the Vatican and France finds us without any recent English work explaining this half of the secrets of the Vatican.

"To meet this deficiency I have written chapters on the ceremonies

which accompany the Death and Election of a Pope and the Creation of Cardinals, the Duties of the Papal Secretary of State and his predecessor, Audiences with the Pope, the Papal Court and the High Officials of whom it is composed and the Sacred Congregations and Pontifical Commissions, which are the every-day business of the Cardinals who live in Rome.

"As the word *Porte* is used to imply the Sultan in his official relations, so the word *Vatican* is used to imply the Pope in his official relations, *e. g.*, in the title which I have given to the chapter from the pen of His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster on the crisis between the Vatican and France, which concludes Part I.

"But the word *Vatican* is familiar to travelers in another signification—that of a place with museums of matchless sculpture, and a gallery of paintings and a chapel whose paintings are yet more famous. This does not help them to understand the first signification. The number of English people who have visited the Vatican collections without giving any thought beyond them is very great. This is excusable because there is no guide book in English and no adequate guide in any language to the Vatican as a palace.

"The reason is not hard to discover. In the days before the cataclysm of 1870, when Pius IX. was on the Papal Throne reigning like an Augustus, the insatiable curiosity which characterizes readers pampered by gossip-loving periodicals had not demanded what we call books of travel, meaning books of sightseeing, which are so popular now; and since 1870 the Vatican has been in mourning.

"I have taken advantage of the title '*Secrets of the Vatican*' to exclude those parts of the palace with which the visitor is familiar, *viz.*, the Sculpture Galleries, the Sistine Chapel, the Stanze and Loggi of Raffaele and the Pinavoteca. They are merely catalogued in the opening chapter, in which I give the category of the various chapels, chambers, courtyards and gardens which make up the Vatican. I take it for granted that every one is familiar with them, and devote my space to introducing the British and American publics to the neglected or usually closed parts of the palace, with the necessary historical illusions."

THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY. Edited by Rev. J. Wilhelm, D. D., Ph. D. Vol. IX.—*The Churches Separated From Rome.* By Mgr. L. Duchesne, director of the Ecole Francaise at Rome. Authorized translation from the French by Arnold Harris Mathew (De Jure Earl of Landaff, of Thomastown, County Tipperary). 8vo., pp. 230. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The International Catholic Library is growing fast. Already twelve volumes have appeared, and all on important subjects. The present volume has a timely interest which adds to its intrinsic merits

and permanent value. By way of introduction the translator says:

"Mgr. Duchesne is too well known and his erudition as an ecclesiastical historian is too universally recognized among scholars to make it necessary for any one to introduce him to the readers of this volume. It is offered to the public as a contribution towards the literature dealing with reunion of separated Christendom, especially to that portion of it which is nearest in its constitution and liturgy to 'the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches.'

"A wider and more accurate knowledge of the causes and results of the principal existing and the dying or already defunct schisms cannot fail to prove helpful to all who are anxious that the Divine prayer for ecclesiastical unity (St. John xxii.) may ere long find an echo in the heart of every one claiming the honored title of Christian."

The subject is extensive and cannot be treated fully and exhaustively in one volume. The author uses the title in a somewhat restricted sense, and explains it in his preface by saying:

"Various circumstances have lately led me to study the position of those Churches which are actually separated from the communion of the See of Rome. Some of my works have already appeared before the public, recalling attention to events concerning old problems. Others, of a more serious character, have been written for special classes of readers. These works I am now amalgamating, hoping they may prove to be of interest at a time when the Holy See, faithful to its old traditions, is reminding the Christian world that schism has ever been a misfortune and unity ever a duty.

"None need seek in this little book answers to the numerous questions raised by the admirable writings of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. But in it some light may perhaps be thrown upon the causes of certain separations, as well as upon the origin and titles of certain ecclesiastical self-governing bodies.

"'Self-government' and 'separation' are not synonymous terms. Although individualism has sometimes hindered the preservation of Christian unity, it would be a mistake to think that this unity is incompatible with legitimate diversity and exclusive of all local organized life. Ecclesiastical centralization, it cannot be repeated too emphatically, is not an ideal condition, but a means to an end. Under the stress of circumstances the Roman Church, the one centre of Christian unity, has been obliged to tighten and strengthen the bonds between herself and the churches confided to her care. But in less straitened times she formed, as her history abundantly proves, a different system of relationship between herself and them. Though in this volume I have only spoken of such autonomous systems as have degenerated into schism, it may be possible for me,

later on, to study, in their turn, those which continue to exist without detriment to the unity of the Church.

"It is upon the past that my searchlights flash, for in the Church no thought of the future can detach itself from her tradition. But I am not old-fashioned enough to believe that the future of Christianity depends upon the restoration of any former state of affairs, whatever such a restoration might have to recommend it. Neither am I conservative enough to believe that whatever is must continue to be indefinitely. St. Peter has no intention of casting anchor, nor of making his ship retrace her former course on the waters. *Duc in Altum!* He steers with holy liberty, faithful the while to the word of Christ. Neither fear nor unexplored waters will stop him, nor will the protestations of archaeologists bring him back to the shores whence he set forth as the fisher as well as the shepherd of men."

The subject is always interesting and important. The author handles it in a masterly manner and makes the historical student his debtor.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL. By *Thomas Hughes*, of the same society. Documents. Vol. I., Part I., Nos. 1-140 (1605-1638). 8vo., pp. 600. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company.

The second volume in order of issue of this valuable historical work has followed promptly on the first. It emphasizes the importance of the undertaking by showing the abundance of original material available. True history must depend most of all on original documents, and the availability of these in any quantity approaching fullness and in anything like consecutive order gladdens the heart of the historian and brings joy to all lovers of truth. Given a scholar, learned, fair, truthful, enthusiastic and zealous, and we have a combination most desirable but rare. We find this combination in the work before us, and the result is admirable.

Some idea of the extent and importance of the work may be gathered from the fact that it has so much outgrown its original form. At first intended to be confined within two volumes, it already demands four, and may call for even a larger number. The author and the publishers might have so abbreviated the matter by synopsis and exclusion as to keep it within the bounds first set for it, but they understand the value of history too well to pursue such a course.

The first volume, consisting of text, was very interesting, but its value is greatly enhanced by the documents contained in the volume before us, which is the first of at least two volumes of documents

bearing on it. These will be followed by a second volume of text, and this again by one or more volumes of documents.

As the edition is necessarily limited, because the work is very expensive and does not belong to the popular class, librarians generally and librarians of all ecclesiastical institutions in particular, should place it on their lists at once. Private buyers should also act promptly, because a second edition is practically out of the question. This work belongs to the class of books which does not create excitement in the reading world, but which is appreciated by a select few who buy it because of its intrinsic value. When it has gone out of print its value is more widely recognized and the demand for it increases. The wise will anticipate that time.

PROCEDURE OF THE ROMAN CURIA. A Concise and Practical Handbook. By *Very Rev. Nicholas Hilling, D. D.*, professor at the University of Bonn. Translated with the author's consent. 8vo., pp. 355. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

The Roman Curia is interesting to every Catholic, because it brings him in contact with the supreme governing power of the Church. Even those outside of the Church must yield admiration to this grand organization, which is so comprehensive and proficient and which accomplishes so much in an administrative and executive way. The origin and development of this body and of its various parts is very interesting, and ought to be known very generally, at least in outline.

The book before us begins with a history of the Roman Curia. Part II. treats of the "Constitution of the Curia," giving the definition of the term, the officials and the departments. Part III. brings us to the "Procedure of the Roman Curia." In this department we find forms for all kinds of petitions. In an appendix important Roman decrees and rescripts promulgated since the Pontificate of Pius X. are given.

The author is very clear and practical, the information is valuable, the book is useful. It is excellently well made.

PERRY'S SERMONS FOR ALL THE SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS OF THE YEAR. On the plan of the "Full Course of Instructions." By the *Rev. John Perry*. Two series. 12mo., pp. 260 and 210. New York: Benziger Brothers.

These two small volumes contain two complete sets of sermons for the Sundays and holy days. They are standards, having been in the hands of preachers for many years. They are models of

their kind—short, plain, clear, uninvolved and practical. Any preacher can preach them and any hearer can understand them. We are unable to give them higher praise.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. Philosophically Explained by *George Fell, S. J.* Translated by Lawrence Villing, O. S. B. London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1906. Price, \$1.35, net.
- THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M. A.* London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1906. Price, \$1.00, net.
- HANDBOOK OF CEREMONIES for Priests and Seminarians. By *John Baptist Müller, S. J.* Translated from the second German edition by Andrew P. Ganss, S. J. Edited by W. H. W. Fanning, S. J., professor of canon law and liturgy, St. Louis University. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg (Baden), 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- HISTORICAL NOTES ON ENGLISH CATHOLIC MISSIONS. By *Bernard W. Kelly.* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$2.00, net.
- A MEDITATION ON THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST. Sermons on the Life and Passion of Our Lord and of Hearing and Speaking Good Words. By *Thomas à Kempis.* Authorized translation from the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, Ph. D., by Dom Vincent Scully, C. R. L. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- SERMONS TO THE NOVICES REGULAR. By *Thomas à Kempis.* Authorized translation from the text of the edition of Michael Joseph Pohl, Ph. D., by Dom Vincent Scully, C. R. L. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., and St. Louis, Mo., B. Herder, 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- SOCIETY, SIN AND THE SAVIOUR. Addresses on the Passion of Our Lord. By *Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J.* Given in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mayfair, 1907. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1907. Price, \$1.35, net.
- DIE BUCHERVERBOTE IN PAPSTERIEFEN Kanonistisch-Bibliographische Studie von *Joseph Hilgers, S. J.* B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, 95 cents, net.
- DER BIBLISCHE SCHOPFUNGSBERICHT (Gen. I., 1 bis 2, 3). Erklärt von *Dr. Franz Kaulen*, Hausprälaten Sr. Heiligkeit des Papstes, Professor der Theologie zu Bonn. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1902. Price, 50 cents, net.
- DIE HEILSNOTWENDIGKEIT DER KIRCHE nach der altchristlichen Literatur bis zur Zeit des hl. Augustinus. Dargestellt von Dr. theol. et phil. *Anton Seitz*, Assistent im Klerikalseminar und Privatdozent an der Universität Würzburg. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1903.
- DISTINGUISHED CONVERTS TO ROME IN AMERICA. By *D. J. Scannell-O'Neill.* B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg (Baden), 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- THE GOD OF PHILOSOPHY. By *Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D.* London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., and B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1906. Price, \$1.00, net.
- APHORISMEN ÜBER PREDIGT UND PREDIGER. Von *Dr. Franz Hettinger.* Zweite Auflage, herausgegeben von Dr. Peter Huls, Domkapitular und Professor an der Universität zu Münster i. w. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.85, net.
- ANSPRACHEN FÜR CHRISTLICHE MUTTERVEREINE. Von *Dr. Anton Leinz*, Militär-Oberpfarrer. Mit Approbation des hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.00, net.
- KURZGEFASSTES HANDBUCH DER KATHOLISCHEN RELIGION. Von *W. Wilmers.* Vierte, durchgesehene Auflage. Mit bischöflicher Approbation. Regensburg, Rome, New York and Cincinnati. Druck und Verlag von Fr. Pustet, 1905. Price, \$1.00, net.
- MODERNSTES CHRISTENTUM UND MODERNE RELIGIONSPSYCHOLOGIE. Zwei Akademische Arbeiten von *Karl Braig*, Doktor der Philosophie und der Theologie, Professor der Dogmatik an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. Zweite Ausgabe. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1907. Price, \$1.50,

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